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ART. I.—*A Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada. By Fray Antonio Agapida.* 1829. 2 vols. 12mo. Philadelphia. Carey, Lea, & Carey.

ALMOST as many qualifications may be demanded for a perfect historian, indeed the Abbé Mably has enumerated as many, as Cicero stipulates for a perfect orator. He must be strictly impartial; a lover of truth under all circumstances, and ready to declare it at all hazards; he must be deeply conversant with whatever may bring into relief the character of the people he is depicting,—not merely with their laws, constitution, general resources, and all the other more visible parts of the machinery of government, but with the nicer moral and social relations, the informing spirit, which gives life to the whole, but escapes the eye of a vulgar observer. If he has to do with other ages and nations, he must transport himself into them, expatriating himself, as it were, from his own, in order to get the very form and pressure of the times he is delineating. He must be conscientious in his attention to geography, chronology, &c., an inaccuracy in which has been fatal to more than one good philosophical history; and mixed up with all these drier details, he must display the various powers of a novelist or dramatist, throwing his characters into suitable lights and shades, disposing his scenes so as to awaken and maintain an unflagging interest, and diffusing over the whole that finished style, without which his work will only become a magazine of materials for the more

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elegant edifices of subsequent writers. He must be—in short, there is no end to what a perfect historian must be and do. It is hardly necessary to add, that such a monster never did and never will exist.

But, although we cannot attain to perfect excellence in this, or any other science in this world, considerable approaches have been made to it, and different individuals have arisen at different periods, possessed, in an eminent degree, of some of the principal qualities, which go to make up the aggregate of the character we have been describing. The peculiar character of these qualities will generally be determined in the writer, by that of the age in which he lives. Thus the earlier historians of Greece and Rome sought less to instruct than to amuse. They filled their pictures with dazzling and seductive images. In their researches into antiquity, they were not startled by the marvellous, like the more prudish critics of our day, but welcomed it as likely to stir the imaginations of their readers. They seldom interrupted the story by impertinent reflection. They bestowed infinite pains on the costume, the style of their history, and, in fine, made everything subordinate to the main purpose of conveying an elegant and interesting *narrative*. Such was Herodotus, such Livy, and such too, the earlier Chroniclers of modern Europe, whose pages glow with the picturesque and brilliant pageants of an age of chivalry. These last, as well as Herodotus, may be said to have written in the infancy of their nations, when the imagination is more willingly addressed than the understanding. Livy, who wrote in a riper age, lived nevertheless in a court and a period, where tranquillity and opulence disposed the minds of men to elegant recreation, rather than to severe discipline and exertion.

As, however, the nation advanced in years, or became oppressed with calamity, history also assumed a graver complexion. Fancy gave way to reflection. The mind, no longer invited to rove abroad in quest of elegant and alluring pictures, was driven back upon itself, speculated more deeply, and sought for support under the external evils of life, in moral and philosophical truth. Description was abandoned for the study of character; men took the place of events; and the romance was converted into a drama. Thus it was with Tacitus, who lived under those imperial monsters, who turned Rome into a charnel-house; and his compact narratives are filled with

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moral and political axioms sufficiently numerous to make a volume; and, indeed, Brotier has made one of them in his edition of the historian. The same philosophical spirit animates the page of Thucydides, himself one of the principal actors in the long, disastrous struggle, that terminated in the ruin of his nation.

But, notwithstanding the deeper and more comprehensive thought of these later writers, there was still a wide difference between the complexion given to history under their hands, and that which it has assumed in our time. We would not be understood as determining, but simply as discriminating their relative merits. The Greeks and Romans lived when the world, at least when the mind, was in its comparative infancy; when fancy and feeling were most easily, and loved most to be excited. They possessed a finer sense of beauty than the moderns. They were infinitely more solicitous about the external dress, the finish, and all that makes up the poetry of a composition. Poetry, indeed, mingled in their daily pursuits, as well as pleasures; it determined their gravest deliberations. The command of their armies was given, not to the best general, but oft-times to the most eloquent orator. Poetry entered into their religion, and created those beautiful monuments of architecture and sculpture, which the breath of time has not tarnished. It entered into their philosophy,—and no one confessed its influence more deeply, than he who would have banished it from his Republic. It informed the souls of their orators, and prompted those magnificent rhapsodies, which fall lifeless enough from the stammering tongue of the schoolboy, but which once 'awak'd to extacy the living' populace of Athens. It entered deeply even into their latest history. It was first exhibited in the national chronicles of Homer. It lost little of its coloring, though it conformed to the general laws of prosaic composition, under Herodotus. And it shed a pleasing grace over the sober pages of Thucydides and Xenophon. The Muse, indeed, was stript of her wings. She no longer made her airy excursions into the fairy regions of romance. But as she moved along the earth, the sweetest wild-flowers seemed to spring up unbidden at her feet. We would not be understood as implying that Grecian history was ambitious of florid or meretricious ornament. Nothing, indeed, could be more simple than its general plan and execution; far too simple, we fear, for imitation in our day. Thus Thucydides,

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for example, distributes his events most inartificially, according to the regular revolutions of the seasons; and the rear of every section is brought up with the same eternal repetition of ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτέλευτα τῷδε, ὃν Θουκυδίδης ξυνέγραψε. But in the fictitious speeches, with which he has illumined his narrative, he has left the choicest specimens of Attic eloquence; and he elaborated his general diction into so high a finish that Demosthenes, as is well known, in the hope of catching some of his rhetorical graces, thought him worthy of being thrice transcribed with his own hand.

Far different has been the general conception, as well as execution, of history by the moderns. In this, however, it was accommodated to the exigencies of their situation, and, as with the ancients, still reflected the spirit of the age. If the Greeks lived in the infancy of civilization, the contemporaries of our day may be said to have reached its prime. The same revolution has taken place as in the growth of an individual. The vivacity of the imagination has been blunted, but reason is matured. The credulity of youth has given way to habits of cautious inquiry, and sometimes to a phlegmatic scepticism. The productions, indeed, which first appeared in the doubtful twilight of morning, exhibited the love of the marvellous, the light and fanciful spirit of a green and tender age. But a new order of things commenced, as the stores of classical learning were unrolled to the eye of the scholar. The mind seemed at once to enter upon the rich inheritance, which the sages of antiquity had been ages in accumulating, and to start, as it were, from the very point where they had terminated their career. Thus raised by learning and experience, it was enabled to take a wider view of its proper destiny; to understand that truth is the greatest good, and to discern the surest method of arriving at it. The Christian doctrine, too, inculcated that the end of being was best answered by a life of active usefulness, and not by one of abstract contemplation, or selfish indulgence, or passive fortitude, as variously taught by the various sects of antiquity. Hence a new standard of moral excellence was formed. Pursuits were estimated by their practical results; and the useful was preferred to the ornamental. Poetry, confined to her own sphere, was no longer permitted to mingle in the councils of philosophy. Intellectual and physical science, instead of floating on vague speculation as with the ancients, was established on careful induction and experiment. The orator,

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instead of adorning himself with the 'pomp and garniture' of verse, sought only to acquire greater dexterity in the management of the true weapons of debate. The passions were less frequently assailed, the reason more. A wider field was opened to the historian. He was no longer to concoct his narrative, if the scene lay in a remote period, from the superficial rumors of oral tradition. Libraries were to be ransacked; medals and monuments to be studied; obsolete manuscripts to be decyphered. Every assertion was to be fortified by an authority. And the opinions of others, instead of being admitted on easy faith, were to be carefully collated, and the balance of probability struck between them. With these qualifications of antiquarian and critic the modern historian was to combine that of the philosopher; deducing from his mass of facts general theorems, and giving to them their most extended application.

By all this process poetry lost much, but philosophy gained more. The elegant arts sensibly declined; but the most important and recondite secrets of nature were laid open. All those sciences, which have for their object the happiness and improvement of the species, the science of government, of political economy, of education,—natural and experimental science were carried far beyond the boundaries, which they could possibly have reached under the ancient systems.

The peculiar forms of historic writing, as it exists with the moderns, were not fully developed until the last century. It may be well enough to notice the intermediate shape which it assumed, before it reached this period, in Spain and Italy, but especially this latter country, in the sixteenth century. The Italian historians of that age seemed to have combined the generalizing and reflecting spirit characteristic of the moderns, with the simple and graceful forms of composition, which have descended to us from the ancients. Machiavelli, in particular, may remind us of some recent statue, which exhibits all the lineaments and proportions of a contemporary, but to which the sculptor has given a sort of antique dignity by enveloping it in the folds of the Roman toga. No one of the Spanish historians is to be named with him. Mariana, who enjoys among them the greatest celebrity, has, indeed, given to his style, both in the Latin and Castilian, the elegant transparency of an ancient classic, but the mass of detail is not quickened by a single spark of philosophy or original reflection. Maria-

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na was a monk; one of a community, who have formed the most copious, but in many respects the most incompetent chroniclers in the world; cut off, as they are, from all sympathy with any portion of the species, save their own order,—and predisposed by education to admit as truth the grossest forgeries of fanaticism. What can their narratives be worth, distorted thus by prejudice and credulity? The Aragonese writers, and Zurita, in particular, though far inferior as to the literary execution of their works, exhibit a pregnant thought and a manly independence of expression far superior to the Jesuit Mariana.

The Italian historians of the sixteenth century, moreover, had the good fortune not only to have been eye-witnesses, but to have played prominent parts in the events which they commemorated. And this gives a vitality to their touches, which is in vain to be expected from those of a closet politician. This rare union of public and private excellence is delicately intimated in the inscription on Guicciardini's monument, 'Cujus negotium, an otium, gloriosius incertum.'

The personage, by whom the present laws of historic composition may be said to have been first arranged into a regular system, was Voltaire. This extraordinary genius, whose works have been productive of so much mingled good and evil, discovers in them many traces of a humane and beneficent disposition. Nowhere is his invective more keenly directed, than against acts of cruelty and oppression, above all, of religious oppression. He lived in an age of crying abuses both in church and government. Unfortunately he employed a weapon against them, whose influence is not to be controlled by the most expert hand. The envenomed shaft of irony, not only wounds the member at which it is aimed, but diffuses its poison to the healthiest and remotest regions of the body.

The free and volatile temper of Voltaire forms a singular contrast with his resolute pertinacity of purpose. Bard, philosopher, historian, this literary Proteus animated every shape with the same mischievous spirit of philosophy. It never deserted him, even in the most sportive sallies of his fancy. It seasons his Romances, equally with his gravest pieces in the Encyclopædia,—his familiar letters and most licentious doggerel, no less than his Histories. The leading object of this philosophy may be defined by the single cant phrase, 'the abolition of prejudices.' But in Voltaire, prejudices were too often confounded with principles.

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In his Histories, he seems ever intent on exhibiting, in the most glaring colors, the manifold inconsistencies of the human race; in showing the contradiction between profession and practice; in contrasting the magnificence of the apparatus, with the impotence of the results. The enormous abuses of Christianity are brought into juxtaposition with the most meritorious features in other religions; and thus all are reduced to nearly the same level. The credulity of one half of mankind is set in opposition to the cunning of the other. The most momentous events are traced to the most insignificant causes; and the ripest schemes of wisdom are shown to have been baffled by the intervention of the most trivial accidents. Thus the conduct of the world seems to be regulated by chance; the springs of human action are resolved into selfishness; and religion, of whatever denomination, is only a different form of superstition. It is true that his satire is directed not so much against any particular system, as the vices of that system. But the result left upon the mind is not a whit less pernicious. His philosophical romance of 'Candide,' affords a good exemplification of his manner. The thesis of perfect optimism in this world, at which he levels this *jeu d'esprit*, is manifestly indefensible. But then he supports his position with such an array of gross and hyperbolical atrocities, without the intervention of a single palliative circumstance, and withal in such a tone of keen derision, that if any serious impression be left on the mind, it can be no other than that of a baleful, withering scepticism. The historian rarely so far forgets his philosophy as to kindle into high and generous emotion, the glow of patriotism, or moral and religious enthusiasm. And hence too, his style, though always graceful, and often seasoned with the sallies of a piquant wit, never rises into eloquence or sublimity.

Voltaire has been frequently reproached for want of historical accuracy. But if we make due allowance for the sweeping tenor of his reflections, and for the infinite variety of his topics, we shall be slow in giving credit to this charge.* He was, indeed, oftentimes misled by his inveterate Pyrrhonism; a defect, when carried to the excess in which he indulged it, al-

* Indeed Hallam and Warton, the one as diligent a laborer in the field of civil history, as the other has been in literary, both bear testimony to his general veracity.

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most equally fatal to the historian, with credulity or superstition. His researches frequently led him into dark, untravelled regions; but the aliment, which he imported thence, served only, too often, to minister to his pernicious philosophy. He resembled the allegorical agents of Milton, paving a way across the gulf of Chaos, for the spirits of mischief to enter more easily upon the earth.

Voltaire effected a no less sensible revolution in the structure than in the spirit of history. Thus, instead of following the natural consecutive order of events, the work was distributed, on the principle of a *Catalogue raisonné*, into sections arranged according to their subjects, and copious dissertations were introduced into the body of the narrative. Thus, in his *Essai sur les Mœurs*, &c., one chapter is devoted to letters, another to religion, a third to manners, and so on. And in the same way, in his 'Age of Louis the Fourteenth,' he has thrown his various illustrations of the policy of government, and of the social habits of the court, into a detached portion at the close of the book.

This, indeed, would seem to be deviating from the natural course of things, as they occur in the world; where the multifarious pursuits of pleasure and business, the lights and shadows, as it were, of life, are daily intermingled in the motley panorama of human existence. But, however artificial this division, it enabled the reader to arrive more expeditiously at the results, for which alone history is valuable, while, at the same time, it put it in the power of the writer to convey with more certainty and facility his own impressions.

This system was subsequently so much refined upon, that Montesquieu, in his 'Grandeur et Décadence des Romains,' laid no further stress on historical facts, than as they furnished him with illustrations of his particular theorems. Indeed, so little did his work rest upon the veracity of such facts, that although the industry of Niebuhr, or rather of Beaufort, has knocked away almost all the foundations of early Rome, Montesquieu's treatise remains as essentially unimpaired in credit as before. Thus the materials, which anciently formed the body of history, now served only as ingredients from which its spirit was to be extracted. But this was not always the spirit of truth. And the arbitrary selection, as well as disposition of incidents, which this new method allowed, and the coloring which they were to receive from the author, made it easy to pervert them to the construction of the wildest hypotheses.

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The progress of philosophical history is particularly observable in Great Britain, where it seems to have been admirably suited to the grave, reflecting temper of the people. In the graces of *narrative*, they have ever been unequal to their French neighbors. Their ancient Chronicles are inferior in spirit and execution, to those either of France or Spain. And their more elaborate histories, down to the middle of the eighteenth century, could not in any way compete with the illustrious models of Italy. But soon after this period, several writers appeared, exhibiting a combination of qualities, erudition, critical penetration, powers of generalization, and a political sagacity, unrivalled in any other age or country.

The influence of the new forms of historical composition, however, was here, as elsewhere, made too frequently subservient to party and sectarian prejudices. Tory histories, and Whig histories, Protestant and Catholic histories successively appeared, and seemed to neutralize each other. The most venerable traditions were exploded, as nursery tales. The statues decreed by antiquity were cast down; and the characters of miscreants, whom the general suffrage of mankind had damned to infamy, of a Dionysius, a Borgia, or a Richard the Third, were now retraced by what Jovius distinguishes as 'the golden pen' of the historian, until the reader, bewildered in the maze of uncertainty, is almost ready to join in the exclamation of Lord Orford to his son, 'Oh quote me not history, for that I know to be false!' It is remarkable, indeed, that the last mentioned monarch, Richard the Third, whose name has become a by-word of atrocity, the burden of the ballad, and the moral of the drama, should have been the subject of elaborate vindication by two eminent writers of the most opposite characters,—the pragmatical Horace Walpole, and the circumspect and conscientious Sharon Turner. The apology of the latter exhibits a technical precision, a severe scrutiny into the authenticity of records, and a nice balancing of contradictory testimony, that give it all the air of a legal investigation. Thus history seems to be conducted on the principles of a judicial process, in which the writer, assuming the functions of an advocate, studiously suppresses whatever may make against his own side, supports himself by the strongest array of evidence which he can muster, discredits, as far as possible, that of the opposite party, and by dexterous interpre-

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tation and ingenious inference, makes out the most plausible argument for his client that the case will admit.

But these, after all, are only the abuses of philosophical history; and the unseasonable length of remark, into which we have been unwarily led in respect to them, may give us the appearance of laying on them greater emphasis than they actually deserve. There are few writers in any country, whose judgment has not been sometimes warped by personal prejudices. But it is to the credit of the principal British historians, that however they may have been occasionally under the influence of such human infirmity, they have conducted their researches, in the main, with equal integrity and impartiality. And while they have enriched their writings with the stores of a various erudition, they have digested from these details, results of the most enlarged and practical application. Thus history in their hands, although it may have lost much of the simplicity and graphic vivacity, which it maintained with the ancients, has gained much more in the amount of useful knowledge, and the lessons of sound philosophy, which it inculcates.

There is no writer, who in his productions exhibits more distinctly the full developement of the principles of modern history, with all its virtues and defects, than Gibbon. His learning was fully equal to his vast subject. This, commencing with expiring civilization in ancient Rome, continues on until the period of its final and perfect resurrection in Italy, in the fifteenth century; and thus may be said to furnish the lights which are to guide us through the long interval of darkness, which divides the old from the modern world. The range of his subject was fully equal to its duration. Goths, Huns, Tartars, and all the rude tribes of the north, are brought upon the stage, along with the more cultivated natives of the south, the Greeks, Italians, and the intellectual Arab; and as the scene shifts from one country to another, we behold its population depicted with that peculiarity of physiognomy, and studied propriety of costume, which belong to dramatic exhibition. For Gibbon was a more vivacious draughtsman, than most writers of his school. He was moreover deeply versed in geography, chronology, the study of antiquities, verbal criticism, in short, in all the sciences in any way subsidiary to his art. The extent of his subject permitted him to indulge in those elaborate disquisitions, so congenial to the spirit of modern history, on the most momen-

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tous and interesting topics. While his early studies enabled him to embellish the drier details of his narrative, with the charms of a liberal and elegant scholarship.

What then was wanting to this accomplished writer? Good faith. His defects were precisely of the class, of which we have before been speaking, and his most elaborate efforts exhibit too often the perversion of learning and ingenuity to the vindication of preconceived hypotheses. He cannot, indeed, be convicted of ignorance, or literal inaccuracy, as he has triumphantly proved in his discomfiture of the unfortunate Davis. But his disingenuous mode of conducting the argument, leads precisely to the same unfair result. Thus, in his celebrated chapters on the 'Progress of Christianity,' which he tells us were 'reduced by three successive revisals, from a bulky volume to their present size,' he has often slurred over in the text such particulars as might reflect most credit on the character of the religion, or shuffled them into a note at the bottom of the page; while all that admits of a doubtful complexion in its early propagation, is ostentatiously blazoned, and set in opposition with the most amiable features of Paganism. While by a style of innuendo, that conveys 'more than meets the ear,' he has contrived, with Iago-like duplicity, to breathe a taint of suspicion on the purity, which he dares not openly assail. It would be easy to furnish examples of all this, were this the place for it. But the charges have no novelty, and have been abundantly substantiated by others.

It is a consequence of this scepticism in Gibbon, as with Voltaire, that his writings are nowhere warmed with a generous moral sentiment. The most sublime of all spectacles, that of the martyr, who suffers for conscience' sake, and this equally whether his creed be founded in truth or error, is contemplated by the historian with the smile, or rather sneer, of philosophic indifference. This is not only bad taste, as he is addressing a Christian audience, but he thus voluntarily relinquishes one of the most powerful engines for the movement of human passion; which is never so easily excited as by deeds of suffering, self-devoted heroism.

But although Gibbon was wholly defective in moral enthusiasm, his style is vivified by a certain exhilarating glow, that kindles a corresponding warmth in the bosom of his reader. This may, perhaps, be traced to his egotism, or, to speak more liberally to an ardent attachment to his professional pursuits,

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—and to his inextinguishable love of letters. This enthusiasm appears in almost every page of his great work, and enabled him to triumph over all its difficulties. It is particularly conspicuous whenever he touches upon Rome, the Alma Mater of science, and whose adopted son he may be said to have been from his earliest boyhood. Whenever he contemplates her fallen fortunes, he mourns over her with the fond solicitude that might become an ancient Roman. And when he depicts her pristine glories, dimly seen by us through the mist of so many centuries, he does it with such vivid accuracy of conception, that the reader, like the traveller who wanders through the excavations of Pompeii, seems to be gazing on the original forms and brilliant colors of antiquity.

To Gibbon's egotism,—in its most literal sense,—to his personal vanity may be traced some of the peculiar defects for which his style is conspicuous. The 'Historian of the Decline and Fall,' too rarely forgets his own importance in that of his subject. The consequence, which he attaches to his personal labors, is shown in a bloated dignity of expression, and an ostentation of ornament, that contrast whimsically enough with the trifling topics and commonplace thoughts, on which, in the course of his long work, they are occasionally employed. He nowhere moves along with the easy freedom of nature, but seems to leap, as it were, from triad to triad, by a succession of strained, convulsive efforts. He affected, as he tells us, the light festive raillery of Voltaire. But his cumbrous imitation of the mercurial Frenchman may remind one, to make use of a homely simile, of the ass in Æsop's fable, who frisked upon his master in imitation of the sportive gambols of the spaniel. The two first octavo volumes of Gibbon's History were written in a comparatively modest and unaffected manner, for he was then uncertain of the public favor. And, indeed, his style was exceedingly commended by the most competent critics of that day, as Hume, Joseph Warton, and others, as is abundantly shown in their correspondence. But when he had tasted the sweets of popular applause, and had been crowned as the historian of the day, his increased consequence becomes at once visible in the assumed stateliness and magnificence of his bearing. But even after this period, whenever the subject is suited to this style, and when his phlegmatic temper is warmed by those generous emotions, of which, as we have said, it was sometimes susceptible, he exhibits his ideas in the most splendid and imposing forms, of which the English language is capable.

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The most eminent illustrations of the system of historical writing, which we have been discussing, that have appeared in England, in the present century, are the works of Mr Hallam; in which the author, discarding most of the circumstances that go to make up mere narrative, endeavors to fix the attention of the reader on the more important features of constitutional polity, employing his wide range of materials in strict subordination to this purpose.

But while history has thus been conducted on nearly the same principles in England for the last century, a new path has been struck out in France, or rather an attempt has lately been made there to retrace the old one. M. Barante, still better known as an elegant literary critic, than as an historian, in the preliminary remarks to his 'Histoire des Ducs de Bourgogne,' considers the draughts of modern compilers as altogether wanting in the vivacity and freshness of their originals. They tell the reader how he should feel, instead of making him do so. They give him their own results, instead of enabling him by a fair delineation of incidents to form his own. And while the early chroniclers, in spite of their unformed and obsolete idiom, are still read with delight, the narratives of the former are too often dry, languid, and uninteresting. He proposes, therefore, by a close adhesion to his originals, to extract, as it were, the spirit of their works, without any affectation, however, of their antiquated phraseology; and to exhibit as vivid and veracious a portraiture, as possible, of the times he is delineating, unbroken by any discussions or reflections of his own. The result has been a work in eleven octavo volumes, which, notwithstanding its bulk, has already passed into four editions.

The two last productions of our countryman, Mr Irving, undoubtedly fall within the class of narrative history. To this, indeed, he seems peculiarly suited by his genius, his fine perception of moral and natural beauty, his power of discriminating the most delicate shades of character, and of unfolding a series of events, so as to maintain a lively interest in the reader; and a *lactea ubertas* of expression which can impart a living eloquence even to the most commonplace sentiments. Had the 'Life of Columbus' been written by an historian of the other school of which we have been speaking, he would have enlarged with greater circumstantiality on the system adopted by Ferdinand and Isabella for the administration of their colonies, and for the regulation of trade; nor would he have neglected to

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descant on a topic, worn somewhat threadbare it must be owned, so momentous as the moral and political consequences of the discovery of America; neither would such a writer, in an account of the conquest of Granada, have omitted to collect such particulars as might throw light on the genius, social institutions, and civil polity of the Spanish Arabs. But all these particulars, however pertinent to a philosophical history, would have been entirely out of keeping in Mr Irving's, and might have produced a disagreeable discordance in the general harmony of his plan.

Mr Irving has seldom selected a subject better suited to his peculiar powers, than the conquest of Granada. Indeed, it would hardly have been possible for one of his warm sensibilities to have lingered so long among the remains of Moorish magnificence, with which Spain is covered, without being interested in the fortunes of a people, whose memory has almost passed into oblivion, but who once preserved the 'sacred flame,' when it had become extinct in every corner of Christendom, and whose influence is still visible on the intellectual culture of Modern Europe. It has been found no easy matter, however, to compile a satisfactory and authenticated account of the Arabians, notwithstanding that the number of their historians, cited by D'Herbelot and Casiri, would appear to exceed that of any European nation. The despotic governments of the East have never been found propitious to that independence of opinion so essential to historical composition; 'ubi sentire quæ velis, et quæ sentias dicere licet.' And their copious compilations, prolific in frivolous and barren detail, are too often wholly destitute of the sap and vitality of history.

The social and moral institutions of Arabian Spain experienced a considerable modification from her long intercourse with the Europeans; and she offers a nobler field of research for the chronicler, than is to be found in any other country of the Moslem. Notwithstanding this, the Castilian scholars, until within late years, have done little towards elucidating the national antiquities of their Saracen brethren; and our most copious notices of their political history, until the late posthumous publication of Conde, have been drawn from the extracts which M. Cardonne translated from the Arabic Manuscripts in the Royal Library at Paris.

The most interesting periods of the Saracen dominion in Spain, are that embraced by the Empire of the Omeyades of

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Cordova, between the years 755 and 1030,—and that of the Kingdom of Granada, extending from the middle of the thirteenth to the close of the fifteenth century. The intervening period of their existence in the Peninsula offers only a spectacle of inextricable anarchy. The first of these periods was that in which the Arabs attained their meridian of opulence and power, and in which their general illumination affords a striking contrast with the deep barbarism of the rest of Europe. But it was that, too, in which their character, having been but little affected by contact with the Spaniards, retained most of its original Asiatic peculiarities. This has never been regarded, therefore, by European scholars, as a period of greatest interest in their history, nor has it ever, so far as we are aware, been selected for the purposes of romantic fiction. But when their territories became reduced within the limits of Granada, the Moors had insensibly submitted to the superior influences of their Christian neighbors. Their story, at this time, abounds in passages of uncommon beauty and interest. Their wars were marked by feats of personal prowess and romantic adventure, while the intervals of peace were abandoned to all the license of luxurious revelry. Their character, therefore, blending the various peculiarities of Oriental and European civilization, offers a rich study for the poet and the novelist. As such, it has been liberally employed by the Spaniards, and has not been altogether neglected by the writers of other nations. Thus Florian, whose sentiments, as well as his style, seem to be always floundering midway betwixt the regions of prose and poetry, has made out of the story of this people his popular romance of 'Gonsalvo of Cordova.' We have also met with a commendatory notice of an Italian Epic in Tiraboschi, entitled 'Il Conquista di Granata,' though we have never seen the original. The ground, however, before the appearance of Mr Irving, had not been occupied by any writer of eminence, in the English language, for the purposes either of romance or history.

The conquest of Granada, to which Mr Irving has confined himself, so disastrous to the Moors, was one of the most brilliant achievements in the most brilliant period of Spanish history. Nothing is more usual than overweening commendations of antiquity; the 'good old times,' whose harsher features, like those of a rugged landscape, lose all their asperity in the distance. But the period of which we are speaking, embracing the reigns of Ferdinand and Isabella at the close of the fifteenth and begin-

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ning of the sixteenth centuries, was undoubtedly that, in which the Spanish nation displayed the fulness of its moral and physical energies, when, escaping from the license of a youthful age, it seems to have reached the full prime of manhood, and the perfect developement of those faculties, whose overstrained exertions were soon to be followed by exhaustion and premature decrepitude.

The remnant of Spaniards, who, retreating to the mountains of the north, escaped the overwhelming inundation of the Saracens at the beginning of the eighth century, continued to cherish the free institutions of their Gothic ancestors. The 'Fuero Juzgo,' the ancient Visi-Gothic code, was still retained by the people of Castile and Leon, and may be said, indeed, to form the basis of all their subsequent legislation. While in Aragon the dissolution of the primitive monarchy opened the way for even more liberal and equitable forms of government. The independence of character, thus fostered by the peculiar constitutions of these petty states, was still further promoted by the circumstances of their situation. Their uninterrupted wars with the infidel,—the necessity of winning back from him inch by inch, as it were, the conquered soil, required the active coöperation of every class of the community, and gave to the mass of the people an intrepidity, a personal consequence, and an extent of immunities, such as were not enjoyed by them in any other country of Europe. The free cities acquired considerable tracts of the reconquered territory with rights of jurisdiction over them, and sent their representatives to Cortes, near a century before a similar privilege was conceded to them in England. Even the peasantry, so degraded, at this period, throughout the rest of Europe, assumed under this state of things a conscious dignity and importance, which are visible in their manners at this day;—and it was in this class during the late French invasions, that the fire of ancient patriotism revived with greatest force, when it seemed almost extinct in the breasts of the degenerate nobles.

The religious feeling, which mingled in their wars with the infidels, gave to their character a tinge of lofty enthusiasm. And the irregular nature of this warfare suggested abundant topics for that popular minstrelsy, which acts so powerfully on the passions of a people. The 'Poem of the Cid,' which appeared, according to Sanchez, before the middle of the twelfth century, contributed in no slight degree, by calling up the most inspiring

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national recollections, to keep alive the generous glow of patriotism. This influence is not imaginary. Heeren pronounces the 'poems of Homer to have been the principal bond which united the Grecian States.' And every one knows the influence exercised over the Scottish peasantry by the Border minstrelsy. Many anecdotes might be quoted to show the veneration universally entertained by the Spaniards, broken, as they were, into as many discordant states as ever swarmed over Greece, for their favorite hero of romance and history. Among others, Mariana relates one of a king of Navarre, who, making an incursion into Castile about a century after the warrior's death, was carrying off a rich booty, when he was met by an Abbot of a neighboring convent, with his monks, bearing aloft the standard of the Cid, who implored him to restore the plunder to the inhabitants from whom he had ravished it. And the monarch, moved by the sight of the sacred relic, after complying with his request, escorted back the banner in solemn procession with his whole army to the place of its deposit.

But while all these circumstances conspired to give an uncommon elevation to the character of the ancient Spaniard, even of the humblest rank, and while the prerogative of the monarch was more precisely as well as narrowly defined, than in most of the other nations of Christendom, the aristocracy of the country was insensibly extending its privileges, and laying the foundation of a power that eventually overshadowed the throne and well nigh subverted the liberties of the state. In addition to the usual enormous immunities claimed by this order in feudal governments (although there is no reason to believe that the system of feudal tenure obtained in Castile, as it certainly did in Aragon), they enjoyed a constitutional privilege of withdrawing their allegiance from their sovereign on sending him a formal notice of such renunciation, and the sovereign, on his part, was obliged to provide for the security of their estates and families, as long as they might choose to continue in such overt rebellion. These anarchical provisions in their constitution did not remain a dead letter, and repeated examples of their pernicious application are enumerated both by the historians of Aragon and Castile. The long minorities, with which the latter country was afflicted, moreover, contributed still further to swell the overgrown power of the privileged orders; and the violent revolution, which, in 1368, placed the house of Trastamarre upon the throne, by impairing the revenues, and consequently

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the authority of the crown, opened the way for the wild uproar, which reigned throughout the kingdom during the succeeding century. Alonso de Palencia, a contempory chronicler, dwells with melancholy minuteness on the calamities of this unhappy period; when the whole country was split into factions of the nobles, the monarch openly contemned, the commons trodden in the dust, the court become a brothel, the treasury bankrupt, public faith a jest, and private morals too loose and audacious to court even the veil of hypocrisy.

The wise administration of Ferdinand and Isabella could alone have saved the state in this hour of peril. It effected, indeed, a change on the face of things as magical as that produced by the wand of an enchanter in some Eastern tale. Their reign it is true, wears a more glorious aspect from its contrast with the turbulent period which preceded it, as the landscape glows with redoubled brilliancy when the sunshine has scattered the tempest. We shall briefly notice some of the features of the policy, by which they effected this change.

They obtained from the Cortes an act for the resumption of the improvident grants made by their predecessor. By which means an immense accession of revenue, which had been squandered upon unworthy favorites, was brought back to the royal treasury. They compelled many of the nobility to resign, in favor of the crown, such of its possessions, as they had acquired by force, fraud, or intrigue, during the late season of anarchy. The son of that gallant Marquis Duke of Cadiz, for instance, with whom the reader has become so familiar in Mr Irving's Chronicle, was stripped of his patrimony of Cadiz, and compelled to exchange it for the humbler territory of Arcos, from which the family henceforth derived their title. By all these expedients the revenues of the state, at the demise of Isabella, were increased twelve fold beyond what they had been at the time of her accession. They reorganized the ancient institution of the 'Hermandad,'—a very different association under their hands from the 'Holy Brotherhood,' which we meet with in Gil Blas. Every hundred householders were obliged to equip and maintain a horseman at their joint expense; and this corps furnished a vigilant police in civil emergencies, and an effectual aid in time of war. It was found, moreover, of especial service in suppressing the insurrections and disorders of the nobility. They were particularly solicitous to abolish the right and usage of private war, claimed by this haughty order, com-

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pelling them, on all occasions, to refer their disputes to the constituted tribunals of justice. But it was a capital feature in the policy of the Catholic sovereigns to counterbalance the authority of the aristocracy, by exalting, as far as prudent, that of the commons. In the various convocations of the national legislature, or Cortes, in this reign, no instance occurs of any city having lost its prescriptive right of furnishing representatives, as had frequently happened under preceding monarchs, who, from negligence or policy, had omitted to summon them.

But it would be tedious to go into all the details of the system, employed by Ferdinand and Isabella, for the regeneration of the decayed fabric of government;—of their wholesome regulations for the encouragement of industry; of their organization of a national militia, and an efficient marine; of the severe decorum, which they introduced within the corrupt precincts of the court; of the temperate economy, by which they controlled the public expenditures; and of the munificent patronage, which they, or rather their almoner on this occasion, that most enlightened of bigots, Cardinal Ximenes, dispensed to science and letters. In short, their sagacious provisions were not merely remedial of former abuses, but were intended to call forth all the latent energies of the Spanish character, and with these excellent materials, to erect a constitution of government which should secure to the nation tranquillity at home, and enable it to go forward in its ambitious career of discovery and conquest.

The results were certainly equal to the wisdom of the preparations. The first of the series of brilliant enterprises was the conquest of the Moorish kingdom of Granada;—those rich and lovely regions of the Peninsula, the last retreat of the infidel, and of which he had continued in possession for nearly eight centuries. This together with the subsequent occupation of Navarre by the crafty Ferdinand, consolidated the various principalities of Spain into one monarchy, and, by extending its boundaries in the Peninsula to their present dimensions, raised it from a subordinate situation to the first class of European powers. The Italian wars, under the conduct of the 'Great Captain,' secured to Spain the more specious, but less useful acquisition of Naples; and formed that invincible infantry, which enabled Charles the Fifth to dictate laws to Europe for nearly half a century. And, lastly, as if the old world could not afford a theatre sufficiently vast for their ambition, Columbus gave a new world to Castile and Leon.

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Such was the attitude assumed by the nation under the Catholic Kings, as they were called; it was the season of hope and youthful enterprise, when the nation seemed to be renewing its ancient energies, and to prepare like a giant to run its course. The modern Spaniard, who casts his eye over the long interval that has since elapsed, during the first half of which, the nation seemed to waste itself on schemes of mad ambition, or fierce fanaticism, and in the latter half to sink into a state of paralytic torpor,—the Spaniard, we say, who casts a melancholy glance over this dreary interval, will turn with satisfaction to the close of the sixteenth century, as the most glorious epoch in the annals of his country. This is the period, to which Mr Irving has introduced us in his late work. And if his portraiture of the Castilian of that day wears somewhat of a romantic and, indeed, incredible aspect to those who contrast it with the present, they must remember that he is only reviving the tints which had faded on the canvass of history. But it is time that we should return from this long digression, into which we have been led by the desire of exhibiting in stronger relief some peculiarities in the situation and spirit of the nation, at the period from which Mr Irving has selected the materials of his last, indeed, his two last publications.

Our author, in his 'Chronicle of Granada,' has been but slightly indebted to Arabic authorities. Neither Conde nor Cardonne has expended more than fifty or sixty pages on this humiliating topic. But ample amends have been offered in the copious prolixity of the Castilian writers. The Spaniards can boast a succession of Chronicles from the period of the great Saracen invasion. Those of a more early date, compiled in rude Latin, are sufficiently meagre and unsatisfactory. But from the middle of the thirteenth century, the stream of history runs full and clear; and their Chronicles, composed in the vernacular, exhibit a richness and picturesque variety of incident, that give them inestimable value as a body of genuine historical documents. The reigns of Ferdinand and Isabella were particularly fruitful in these sources of information. History then, like most of the other departments of literature, seemed to be in a state of transition,—when the fashions of its more antiquated costume began to mingle insensibly with the peculiarities of the modern; when, in short, the garrulous graces of narration were beginning to be tempered by the tone of grave and philosophical reflection.

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We will briefly notice a few of the eminent sources from which Mr Irving has drawn his account of the 'Conquest of Granada.' The first of these is the Epistles of Peter Martyr, an Italian *savant*, who, having passed over with the Spanish ambassador into Spain, and being introduced into the court of Isabella, was employed by her in some important embassies. He was personally present at several campaigns of this war. In his 'Letters,' he occasionally smiles at the caprice which had led him to exchange the pen for the sword; while his speculations on the events passing before him, being those of a scholar, rather than of a soldier, afford in their moral complexion a pleasing contrast to the dreary datails of blood and battle. Another authority is the Chronicle of Bernaldez, a worthy ecclesiastic of that period, whose bulky manuscript, like that of many a better writer, lies still ingulphed in the dust of some Spanish library, having never been admitted to the honors of the press. Copies of it, however, are freely enough circulated. It is one of those good-natured, gossipping memorials of an antique age, abounding equally in curious and commonplace incident, told in a way sufficiently prolix, but not without considerable interest. The testimony of this writer is of particular value, moreover, on this occasion, from the proximity of his residence, in Andalusia, to those scenes, which were the seat of the war. His style overflows with that religious loyalty, with which Mr Irving has liberally seasoned the effusions of Fray Antonio Agapida. Hernando del Pulgar, another contemporary historian, was the Secretary and Counsellor of their Catholic majesties, and appointed by them to the post of national Chronicler; an office familiar both to the courts of Castile and Aragon, in which latter country, especially, it has been occupied by some of its most distinguished historians. Pulgar's long residence at court, his practical acquaintance with affairs, and above all, the access which he obtained, by means of his official station, to the best sources of information, have enabled him to make his work a rich repository of facts relating to the general resources of government, the policy of its administration, and, more particularly, the conduct of the military operations in the closing war of Granada, of which he was himself an eye-witness. In addition to these writers, this period has been illumined by the labors of the most celebrated historians of Castile and Aragon, Mariana and Zurita; both of whom conclude their narratives with it; the last expanding the biography of Ferdinand alone into two

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volumes folio. Besides these, Mr Irving has derived collateral lights from many sources of inferior celebrity, but not less unsuspicious credit.* So that, in conclusion, notwithstanding a certain dramatic coloring which Fray Agapida's 'Chronicle' occasionally wears, and notwithstanding the romantic forms of a style, which, to borrow the language of Cicero, seems 'to flow, as it were, from the very lips of the Muses,' we may honestly recommend it as substantially an authentic record of one of the most interesting, and, as far as English scholars are concerned, one of the most untravelled portions of Spanish history.

* Neither of Mr Irving's late writings could have been compiled from materials existing in any or all of the public libraries in this country; and this independently of the manuscript authorities used by him, which may be supposed not easily met with out of Spain. The same remark is predicable of most of the historical works, which daily appear in France, Germany, and England. One cause of our deficiency in such original documents, and, indeed, in all but the more obvious and classical productions of literature, has been the difficulty of meeting with an intelligent agent in Europe, competent to the selection and purchase of such works. Whatever impediment, however, has been occasioned by this circumstance is now removed. Mr. O. Rich, the late American Consul at Madrid, whose valuable library furnished Mr Irving with some of the most important materials for his 'Life of Columbus,' has transferred his residence to London; where he devotes himself to the execution of such commissions for the purchase of books as he may be entrusted with by his countrymen. He has been employed in making extensive purchases for Harvard College Library and the Boston Athenæum, as well as several smaller ones for individuals of this city; and he has uniformly executed his orders with promptness, sagacity, and great economy. His accurate bibliographical knowledge, and his extensive correspondence through all the principal cities of the continent, afford such facilities for literary acquisitions, as we hope will be improved by public institutions and private individuals. We feel that we are doing a service to the cause of letters in recommending this gentleman, whose useful labors have well entitled him to this public testimony. Mr Rich's address in London is 12 Red Lion Square.

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ART. II.—*Junius Unmasked, or Lord George Sackville proved to be Junius. With an Appendix, showing that the Author of the Letters of Junius was also the Author of the 'History of the Reign of George III.' and Author of 'The North Briton,' ascribed to Mr Wilkes.* 12mo. Boston. Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 1828.

THE first letter under the signature of Junius was printed in 'The Public Advertiser,' in the month of January, 1769. From that period no erring politician was suffered to remain in peace, no guilty one to escape with impunity. The supporters of arbitrary power, the ministers of secret corruption, all who sought in any manner to trample on the liberty of the people, trembled at that name, even long after it had ceased to electrify the kingdom by its appearance in the public journals. While the letters continued in quick succession to hurl forth their bold denunciations, there was not an individual of sufficient eminence to attract the notice of their burning eloquence, if his conscience convicted him of a single act of treachery, no matter how secret, who did not shudder lest the next exertion of Junius should be to drag that crime from its secrecy and lay it open to the whole world's view. From the security of an impenetrable concealment this invisible accusing demon looked out upon the struggle going on between the friends and the enemies of freedom, and marked the individuals against whom he might point his vengeance with the most blasting intensity, and deliberately scattered firebrands, arrows, and death amidst the terrified victims of his hatred. 'Kings, Lords, and Commons were but the sport of his fury.' No forms of reverence, no usages of forbearance, though sanctified from the remotest antiquity, could have the slightest influence to shield the hapless object of his burning indignation. The long established and unviolated maxim, that 'the King can do no wrong,' together with other observances, which had always invested his name with a solemn awe and his person with a consecrated impunity, were of no avail in protecting royalty itself from the daring shafts of this invisible and reckless censor. With a keenness of sarcasm and a venom of satire, compared to which even the pointed verses of Juvenal seem lifeless, he probed the vices and scourged the personages of the public administration, till the most hardened, and hoary, and shameless of the guilty in-

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dividuals shrunk back in despair from the agony of his tortures. To fly from his wrath or contend with his censure was equally hopeless. The endeavor to refute his accusations in most cases only rendered their truth more evident, and their power more sure. An expedient to destroy the force of his satire acted in the hands of its inventor like a sword of steel opposed to the forked lightning of heaven ;—it gave a steadier direction and a more burning intensity to the angry flash. Truth itself was no shield from the attacks of such a writer, whose ingenuity could weave assertion into argument, whose sophistry entangled fact with falsehood, whose very impudence of accusation was overwhelming, and whose silence passed for dignified contempt.

These letters were published at the commencement of an epoch, to an American at least, the most interesting of all English history. It was at this period that the secret cabinet, of which Burke has given us in his surpassing eloquence so impressive and severe a sketch, was first constituted at the court of St James. In the chapters of history we see only the external consequences of its movements. Junius introduces us to its most secret consultations. He lays bare the springs of action, the nerves, the heart, the muscles. This period was one of anxiety and dismay to every true patriot in England. The influence of the crown had become so alarming and its prerogative stretched to so unbounded an extent, that the freest government in Europe put on for a time the semblance, and seemed to have imbibed the spirit of despotism. Though not so apparent, the danger was almost as imminent, as it was from different causes during the first blaze of the French Revolution. Every lover of the English constitution trembled for its safety, when he beheld a venal House of Commons overleaping its boundaries, and trampling on its authority, to such an extent as even arbitrarily to reject the representative elected by the people, and substitute, by an outrageous violation of their dearest rights, the very man whom they had refused. Their sternest and steadiest defenders began to despair, when they beheld the sovereign regardless of the voice of the people, when they saw old obnoxious measures persisted in, and new ones continually invented, to subvert the government from its broad basis of popular control, and fix it for ever on the narrow foundation of regal prerogative and ministerial influence. It was therefore a most favorable conjuncture for the appearance of a writer like Junius. There was no want of topics on

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which he might kindle into vivid flashes the spirit even of the coldest patriot. Two of these, the extraordinary and illegal expulsion of Wilkes from the House of Commons, and the equally extraordinary and illegal charge of Lord Mansfield to the jury, in the trial of Woodfall for the publication of Junius' letter to the King, were brought forward on every possible occasion, were examined, exposed, and refuted in every possible shape. His writings on these events constitute a great portion of his volumes. There was, however, no subject of importance, which he did not instantly seize upon. What public question have I declined? what villain have I spared? was his indignant interrogation. Whatever the motives might have been which impelled him to the task, there was need of a scrutiny like that which Junius undertook, and there can be no doubt that his writings, though sometimes bitterly false and rancorous, were attended with great and immediate benefit to the nation. They rang like an alarm bell through the kingdom; they roused the people from their sluggishness, and called them to watch narrowly the conduct of their rulers, to look vigilantly on the dangerous posture of the public interests, to examine for themselves questions, on which the lives and property of every individual in Great Britain depended. They convey to us at this time a fund of information in regard to the eminent public characters and political events of that day; and for this alone they merit the attention of every student in biography and human nature, as well as in political and general history.

Some persons may be disposed to regard the question concerning the authorship of these letters as of little interest or utility. We have a different opinion. We cannot but look upon it as a useful and important object to ascertain who wrote those compositions, which discover so intimate an acquaintance with the great characters and events of the time; which breathe such a Roman fire of liberty, and are clothed in a style so highly finished, pure, and energetic, that Dr Johnson declared he knew no man capable of writing them but Edmund Burke; and which called forth in opposition the talents of such men as Sir William Draper, John Horne Tooke, Caleb Whitefoord, Dr Johnson, Sir William Blackstone, and we know not how many of the eminent lawyers and political individuals of the kingdom. While we are ignorant of their author, the publication of these letters looks to us like an anomaly in

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the history of the human mind. We have an event, solitary, unconnected, unaccountable. That a sincere and highminded patriot, without any personal malice towards the distinguished individuals, who are so fiercely and sometimes so causelessly attacked, should have commenced those terrible Philippics in the calm determination of honest, upright, and disinterested motives, and continued them with intense assiduity for years, without any other purpose than the purest good of his country, is totally beyond the limits of credibility. Junius himself confessed, that should he ever set up such a claim, his countrymen would not believe him. We are anxious to know the motives, which could have actuated a soul of such power. We are curious to learn whether his fiery zeal for the liberties of his country was sincere, or whether it was only assumed to cover the purposes of a private, selfish, and criminal ambition. We wish to discover if the purity of his own life, public and private, corresponded with the lofty tone of his written sentiments. It is good to follow the intricate windings of human passion, especially when they lead to such remarkable results.

The much agitated inquiry who wrote 'Eikon Basilike,' or even 'Gil Blas,' we regard as of far less importance than the question who wrote 'Junius.' If it should prove to be Sir Philip Francis, it would certainly stand out as one of the most extraordinary and unaccountable occurrences in the world, that a man on the green side of thirty, immersed in the duties of a daily and arduous employment, with no personal enmities to rouse up and sustain his bitterness, and no objects of personal ambition, which could possibly be gained by so hazardous a course, should apply himself for years to the secret, laborious, dangerous, and yet indefatigable composition of the most unsparing, intemperate, and malignant invectives on all the members of his country's government. If it should prove to be Lord George Sackville, we have the instructive history of a man of powerful abilities but strong passions, burning with indignation on account of his degraded and wounded honor, thirsting for revenge against those whom he considered as the authors of his disgrace, plotting the overthrow of his enemies, and contriving an intricate plan to raise his own fortunes on their ruins, and yet concealing all this under the specious garb of pure patriotism and using the loftiest feelings of his countrymen as auxiliaries in the prosecution of his own selfish and ambitious designs.

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We suppose most persons at the present day believe that the authorship of the letters in question belongs to one of these two celebrated individuals. The pretensions of the host of persons besides them, whose names have all in turn been brought forward as the substance of the 'Stat nominis umbra,' are in most cases so very futile as to be destroyed by a single glance at the character and circumstances of those for whom they have been advanced. They are made up of conjectural and hypothetical reasoning, mingled sometimes with a few singular though very slight coincidences. We shall now endeavor to lay before our readers what we conceive to be a fair statement of the arguments and objections involved in the claims of each of the two persons, between whose titles the verdict of the public seems to be divided. When they have been impartially compared, we think the decision cannot any longer remain doubtful.

The pretensions of Sir Philip were set forth a few years ago in a volume entitled, 'Junius Identified,' with all the strength which ingenuity and skill in reasoning could give them. This book was really an excellent specimen of inductive argument, and to a superficial reader, at first view, the evidence which it presents appears absolutely overwhelming. This is owing to the art of the writer in spreading a few casual coincidences over a great number of pages; in presenting the same argument in different situations and under different shapes, so as to give it apparently the force of many distinct proofs; in keeping totally out of view the most important objections against his theory, and in making facts and circumstances bend to suit the train of his reasoning. The evidence which at first sight appeared so overpowering, becomes very insignificant on a close, scrutinizing examination and comparison. It will give some idea of the manner in which the book is made up, when we say that more than sixty pages are occupied with a comparison between the letters of Junius and a speech of Lord Chatham, said to have been reported by Sir Philip Francis. It would be entirely superfluous at this time to expose the sophistry and contradictions of this work, but we will mention one instance of misrepresentation as a specimen of the rest. In arguing from the alleged similarity of Sir Philip's political views with those of Junius, the author quotes from one of Sir Philip's speeches a sentiment in regard to the royal prerogative. He says, 'Sir Philip next observes, "The prero-

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gatives of the crown are not vested for his own sake in the person who wears it, but to ensure the execution of his office; and then I ask, what power has the constitution reserved to any set of men to strip the crown of those prerogatives?"' He then goes on to assert, that 'Junius takes the same view of the subject under the following figure; "The feather that adorns the royal bird supports his flight. Strip him of his plumage and you fix him to the earth."' Now it happens, as any one may see on a reference to the context, and as would have appeared evident if but the two previous sentences had been quoted, that Junius, in using this simile, does *not* 'take the same view of the subject' in any sense, that he is not even speaking of the king's prerogative at all, and far less attempting to define its firmness or extent. He is speaking of the royal honor and the public credit. He says, 'The king's honor is that of the people. Their real honor and interest is the same. I am not contending for a vain punctilio. A clear, unblemished character comprehends not only the integrity that will not offer, but the spirit that will not submit to an injury; and whether it belongs to an individual or to a community, it is the foundation of peace, of independence, and of safety. Private credit is wealth; public honor is security. The feather that adorns,' &c.

The character of Sir Philip Francis is in every respect that of an honorable, energetic, and highminded patriot. His talents are undoubtedly of a very elevated kind. Had we no other reason for the esteem with which we regard him, the eloquent encomiums passed upon him by Fox, and by one of the greatest of statesmen, Edmund Burke, would alone be sufficient to justify our admiration. He served the interests of his native kingdom long and faithfully in India, and escaped, with but one or two companions, the moral corruption which seemed like an element in the very atmosphere of that oppressed and degraded country. Amidst the universal rapacity of the servants of the East India company, he preserved his integrity unimpeached, and his humanity undiminished; and became of course the object of peculiar jealousy to Mr Hastings, and of hatred to all who were partakers in that gentleman's bribery and extortion. To so great a degree was the enmity of the kingdom excited against him, that, when he returned to England, it is said not a man would speak with him but the king and Edmund Burke.

1. The first argument brought forward in proof that he was

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Junius, is, that during the years in which the letters were written he held the post of an under-secretary in the war office, and thus possessed opportunities to gain that minute and accurate knowledge relating to that department, which is displayed so remarkably by Junius. So far as it goes, this argument is of force, but it does not account for the equally wonderful knowledge, which Junius exhibits, of the management, both external and internal, in the other departments of state; nor does it weigh exclusively for Sir Philip; the situation and circumstances of Lord Sackville being equally favorable for the attainment of all the information communicated in the letters.

2. The enmity of Junius to Lord Barrington, the Secretary at War, and his eager and animated defence of that gentleman's clerks, Mr D'Oyley and Mr Francis, evidently betray a personal interest. This fact is declared to be well accounted for on the supposition that Sir Philip was Junius, he having quarrelled with Lord Barrington and been dismissed by him from his employment. But the truth is, that this quarrel and dismission did not take place till 1772, and therefore will not account for the writer's enmity, which is apparent from the very commencement of the letters, and began to be violently so, as early as 1769. Supposing this, however, a valid argument, it would not be exclusive, since Lord Sackville is supposed to have entertained a personal friendship for Mr D'Oyley. Mr Chamier, the individual who was elevated to the post from which Mr D'Oyley was dismissed, is treated in the letters of Junius with bitter slander and insolent contempt. From the character which is there given of him, we should be led to suppose that he was one of the most despicable of human beings. Let us see how this description comports with the truth. Mr Chamier was not 'a mere broker in the Alley, preferred only for the chicanery which may be learned there.' He was selected by Dr Johnson as one of the nine who composed originally his club at the Turk's Head, in Gerard Street. It is sufficient to say that he was the companion of Johnson, Reynolds, Burke, Goldsmith, and Dyer, and an esteemed member of the club, of which they were the distinguished ornaments. The character of Sir Philip Francis would not permit him to praise himself in such unmeasured eulogium, or from private, selfish motives, to traduce the name of a worthy and respectable man. How unworthy an honorable mind to detract from the merits and blast the reputation of a deserving individual, merely be-

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cause he happened to be the rival and successful candidate for an office of four hundred pounds per annum. No one, under the idea that Sir Philip was Junius, can read his letters of slander on the character of Chamier, without despising the feelings that could dictate so detestable and criminal a course.

3. It is asserted that the circumstances, in which Mr Francis was placed by his dismission from the war office, account for the silence of Junius; inasmuch as his personal interest was gone and the sources of information no longer in his power. We need not remark on the absurdity of supposing that the personal interest of Junius depended on the possession of an office of four hundred pounds per annum. Was this the man 'whose rank and fortune placed him above a common bribe? whose views of personal advantage were neither in themselves little, nor could by any possible conjecture be collected from his writings?' Besides, it is certain that the information exhibited in the letters must have come from sources, to which an under-secretary in the war office could hardly have had access; the knowledge which we may suppose such a person could command from his own situation being but a portion, and that not a large one, of the astonishing, various, and minute acquaintance displayed by Junius with every department of state, and every political transaction, private or public, throughout the kingdom. All speculation in regard to the reasons, which might have induced Junius at any particular moment to finish his task, is worse than useless, since it is known that so early as 1769 he had nearly resolved to write no more. And any argument drawn from the coincidence mentioned is annihilated by the declaration of Junius, Nov. 8th, 1771, that his writings were ended; and again, Nov. 27th, 1771, in a private letter to Woodfall, 'David Garrick has literally forced me to break my resolution of writing no more.'* Now whatever might have been his reasons for ceasing to write, it is very evident that they existed antecedent to November, 1771. But Mr. Francis' dismission from the war office (which is given as the

* Garrick had been confidentially informed by Woodfall of the probability that Junius would stop writing, and immediately informed the king. Junius knew this the very next morning, and sent Garrick a most severe and threatening letter. How Sir Philip Francis should have obtained this knowledge, as it were so intuitively, is totally inexplicable; but Lord Sackville's situation as privy-counsellor, and his habits of familiarity with the king, may account for it satisfactorily.

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cause of Junius' silence) did not take place till the 23d of March, 1772, almost four months after Junius had signified his determination to withdraw.

4. An argument is drawn from the manner in which Junius designedly spared Lord Holland and his family. This singular fact is explained on the supposition, that Sir Philip was Junius, he having been appointed by Lord Holland, in 1756, to a little place in the Secretary of State's office. This would be an argument of some weight, if the circumstance on which it is founded were not inconsistent with the animosity of Junius towards other friends of Sir Philip, to whom he owed far greater acknowledgments of gratitude than to Lord Holland.

5. A circumstance which favors the pretensions of Sir Philip is Junius' selection of Mr Woodfall for his printer, and the kind, familiar style of his correspondence with that individual. Mr Francis had been the schoolfellow of Mr Woodfall, and continued friendly to him through life.

6. An argument is attempted to be formed out of the conjecture, resting on the authority of an anecdote of the day, that Sir Philip was discovered by the administration, in 1772, to be Junius, and that they gave him the lucrative appointment to India, to get him out of the way; an event, it is said, otherwise inexplicable. Now we are under no obligation to explain any singular circumstance in Sir Philip Francis' life, and the absurdity that the author of Junius should have been discovered so early as 1772, by several members of the administration, and by the king himself, and yet that the authorship should have remained a profound secret to the present day, seems to us too great to be dwelt upon.

7. An argument is drawn from the similarity of Sir Philip's political views to those of Junius. This similarity is proved to exist in one or two instances, but there are also cases of marked disagreement. Sir Philip was an advocate for a more equal representation in the House of Commons. Junius, in a letter to Wilkes, condemns the projects for that purpose. In speaking of the Revolutionary contest, Sir Philip declared in the House of Commons, 'on the principles and in the language of Lord Chatham, that he rejoiced that America had resisted. If this be a concession, these gentlemen are welcome to it. I do not believe it will avail them. I rejoice that America resisted with success, because it was a triumph of unquestionable right over outrageous wrong, of courage and virtue over tyran-

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ny and force.' How do these sentiments agree with the opposition of Junius to Lord Chatham's language, principles, and conduct on this very subject, and with his unqualified assertions that the noble Lord and those who acted with him were encouraging rebellion in the colonies? How do they comport with what Junius says of the Stamp Act? 'The people who were most clamorous against it either never understood or wilfully misrepresented it.'

8. The similarity between some passages in Junius' letters and certain speeches in the House of Lords reported by Sir Philip, is mentioned as an argument in his favor. It is merely a casual coincidence. Any other person might have been present at those debates, and taken notes as well as Sir Philip; and it is certain that Junius quotes from speeches which Mr Francis is not known to have heard or reported.

9. The style of Sir Philip Francis bears a great resemblance to that of Junius. Still there are some very essential differences, the former being far less polished and pointed than the latter, less equal in its movement and exhibiting less intense compression in its character. The similarity is not more striking than that of Sackville's, and even if it were, the argument loses almost all its force, when we remember that the writings of Sir Philip were not composed till long after the publication of the letters, which he undoubtedly studied with eagerness and attention. In either case we rely far less upon any argument which may be gathered from the comparison of style, than upon the other circumstantial evidence. It is a method of proof very apt to be fallacious, especially when we have on one side, as in both the present instances, short extracts, to be compared with whole volumes on the other. In this way we could prove twenty different writers to have been incontrovertibly the authors of the letters of Junius.

The objections which lie against the claims of Sir Philip seem to us insurmountable. But it is important to remember, that the objections to his claims constitute in almost every case arguments equally strong in favor of the pretensions of Lord Sackville; although the considerations urged in proof of the pretensions of the former do not interfere in any sense with those of the latter. For instance, the fact that Junius appears to have been a member of the House of Commons and the probability that he was a person of age and experience, which are very powerful objections to the title of Sir Philip, consti-

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tute arguments of equal weight in favor of the pretensions of Lord Sackville. But the personal interest which Junius exhibited on occasion of the discharge of Mr Francis and Mr D'Oyley from the war office, which is urged in favor of Sir Philip's claims, may be urged with equal plausibility for those of Sackville, since it is rendered quite certain that he entertained a personal friendship for Mr D'Oyley. We begin the list of objections with perhaps the strongest, his youth. Sir Philip Francis was born in 1740. The letters of Junius were commenced 1767. Sir Philip Francis could therefore have been but little more than twenty-six years old when Junius began to write. Even if no external evidence existed as to the actual age of the author of the letters, we should look upon it as almost incredible that they could ever have been composed by an individual on the younger side of thirty. There is a bare possibility of it, and that is all. When we consider the greatness, boldness, originality, and hazard of the undertaking; the vast and manifold and minute knowledge which it called for; the activity, the energy, and the intense labor which it must have required,—it seems to us impossible that a mind destitute of the grave purposes and resolute determination of manhood should ever have engaged in such a task.

The letters display a knowledge of the world and an acquaintance with human nature, beyond the years of Sir Philip. They often exhibit a profound acuteness of thought, a depth and originality of observation, which have hardly been surpassed even by the beautiful and discriminating wisdom of Edmund Burke.

The legal knowledge which they manifest is likewise so profound, that Lord Eldon declared in the House of Peers that their author must either have been a lawyer, or written in concert with the ablest and best of lawyers. It is such as no man could have acquired without much leisure for the study, and a long attention to the principles and workings, of the English Constitution. Now what were the opportunities of this nature which Sir Philip enjoyed? What was the course of his early life and studies? So far from being favorable to the attainment of those profound acquisitions which every page of Junius shows that he possessed, it must have been in its tendency opposed to such a result. At the boyish age of sixteen, he was appointed to a place in the Secretary of State's office; at eighteen, he was appointed secretary to General Bligh; at twen-

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ty, he was secretary to the Earl of Kinnoul, ambassador at Lisbon; at twenty-three, he was appointed to that post in the war office, which he held till 1772.

A similar remark may be made in regard to the extensive acquaintance with the classics, manifested in the letters of Junius. Sir Philip Francis, who finished his academical education at the age of sixteen, and whose subsequent occupations could have left him but little leisure to pursue his literary studies beyond the limits of his native tongue, cannot be supposed, although his father was the powerful translator of Demosthenes, to have acquired that profound acquaintance with the ancient classics, and that ready habit of applying them to practical illustration, which is evident in the writings of Junius. Accordingly, we are unable to trace it in any of his speeches or acknowledged written compositions.

Besides the presumption against the claims of Sir Philip from his inadequacy between the years of twenty-six and thirty-one to the accomplishment of such a task, the internal evidence in regard to the actual age of the author affords a strong proof of the fallacy of Mr. Francis' pretensions. In the first place, the whole general style of Junius is that of a man, whose age and experience, not less than his rank and abilities, entitle him to speak with authority, and to claim for his opinions a more than common deference and respect. Whatever he writes wears the air of easy, dignified, habitual superiority and confidence, which are altogether different from the hasty, petulant, presumptuous assurance of youth. No one can rise from the perusal of these letters, with the belief that they were the work of a youthful mind. In our opinion, this feeling amounts to a decided conviction. Junius speaks directly, in many instances, of the youth of those persons whom he scourges with his satire, and he habitually does it with a manner full of superiority and deep-felt contempt. Whenever he charges upon any member of the administration 'the atrocious crime of being a young man,' the charge is conveyed in the most sarcastic, reproachful language, and in a style which none but a man of years would have adopted. Some of his remarks on the errors, which young men are apt to fall into, and the feelings which they commonly cherish, exhibit a knowledge that could have been gained only from much reflection and experience. The following is a forcible instance. Junius says of the Duke of Grafton, 'An obstinate, ungovernable self-sufficiency plainly points out to us

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that state of imperfect maturity, at which the graceful levity of youth is lost, and the solidity of experience not yet acquired. It is possible the young man may in time grow wiser and reform,' &c. This, with what immediately follows, is one of those original and masterly remarks on human nature, which no one but a man of long experience and penetrating sagacity could have struck out.

In a letter, 1768, Junius says, 'I *remember seeing* Bassambaum, Suarez, Molina, and a score of other Jesuitical books burnt at Paris for their sound casuistry, by the hands of the common hangman.' If this event happened when the order of Jesuits was abolished in France, in 1764, it is impossible that Sir Philip could have witnessed it, since he did not leave England from 1763 to 1772. If, which is more probable, it took place many years before, he was either an infant or not yet in existence. Lord Sackville was at Paris in 1738. In a letter, 1767, speaking of Lord George Townshend and his brother the Hon. Charles Townshend, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, Junius says, 'I am not a stranger to this *par nobile fratrum*. I have served under the one, and been forty times promised to be served by the other.' Now unless we suppose this to be an absolute falsehood, a sheer fabrication, Sir Philip could not have written it. He had never served as a soldier, which Junius undoubtedly meant, and as to political service we have every reason to suppose that he was not even acquainted with Lord Townshend. Lord Sackville served *with* Lord Townshend in 1743, at Dettingen, and it is not improbable that he might have served *under* him previously. In a private letter to Mr Woodfall, 1771, Junius says, 'After long experience of the world, I affirm before God, that I never knew a rogue who was not unhappy.' The Editor of Woodfall's Junius, considering that this moral axiom gleaned from long experience, was addressed to a man more than thirty years of age, thinks it absurd to suppose that the writer could have been less than fifty, or that he feigned a character which he did not really possess. In a letter, June, 1769, Junius says, '*I am an old reader* of political controversy. I remember the great Walpolean battles; and am not a little diverted with the combats of party at this time. They are still carried on with ability and vigor. *Long habit* has taught me to pass by all the declamation with which the champions parade. I look upon it as no better than the flourishes of the back sword,

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with which the great masters of my time in the amphitheatre entertained the spectators,' &c. This letter was not given to the public under the signature of Junius, so that he could have had no object in affecting an age which was not real. It is extremely improbable, not to say impossible, that Sir Philip Francis could have written it. In a private letter to Wilkes, 1771, Junius says, 'Many thanks for your obliging offer;—but alas! my age and figure would do but little credit to my partner.—I acknowledge the relation between Cato and Portia, but in truth I see no connexion between Junius and a minuet.'

Mr. Francis' station in life and employment in the war office constitute a powerful objection to his claims. His connexions were not extensive, and the only fortune he possessed consisted in the four hundred pounds per annum, the salary of his secretaryship. In a letter, April, 1769, Junius says, 'It is true, I have refused offers, which a more prudent or a more interested man would have accepted. Whether it be simplicity or virtue in me, I can only affirm that I am in earnest; because I am convinced, as far as my understanding is capable of judging, that the present ministry are driving this country to destruction; and you, I think, Sir, may be satisfied, that my rank and fortune place me above a common bribe.' In one of his private letters, after refusing the request, repeatedly urged by Mr Woodfall, that he would receive half the great profits of the first genuine edition of his letters, he writes, 'As for myself, be assured that *I am far above all pecuniary views*, and no other person I think has any claim to share with you,' &c. The editor of Woodfall's Junius observes in regard to his connexions at court, 'That Junius moved in the immediate circle of the court, and was intimately and confidentially connected, either directly or indirectly, with all the public offices of government, is, if possible, still clearer than that he was a man of independent property; for the feature that peculiarly characterized him at the time of his writing, and that cannot even now be contemplated without surprise, was the facility with which he became acquainted with every ministerial manœuvre, whether public or private, from almost the very instant of its conception.' The particularity of this extraordinary knowledge is not confined to the war office; it extends equally to every department of administration and every scene of political transactions. The opportunities of Mr Francis were therefore totally inadequate to its attainment.

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The intimate and almost unlimited acquaintance which Junius must have possessed with the noblest families and greatest personages in the kingdom is an objection equally strong to the claims of Sir Philip. Young as he was, much of that short life had been spent at a distance from England, and he had neither rank nor fortune to give him access to the circle in which Junius evidently moved.

Besides all this, it is sufficiently manifest from the letters themselves, that Junius was not, like Mr Francis, encumbered with the business of any official employment whatever. In one of his long and excellent letters to Mr Wilkes, in 1771, he observes, 'I offer you the sincere opinion of a man, who perhaps has more leisure to make reflections than you have, and who, though he stands clear of all business and intrigue, mixes sufficiently for the purposes of intelligence in the conversation of the world.' In another letter, 1771, he says, that 'almost the whole labor of the press is thrown upon a single hand, from which a discussion of every public question whatsoever is unreasonably expected. He is not paid for his labor, and certainly has a right to choose his employment.'

It is moreover impossible to reconcile the fact of Sir Philip's engagements in the war office with the very frequent absences of Junius from the city. These are often noticed in his private and in some of his public letters, insomuch that the editor of Woodfall's Junius remarked that we might compose from them a little journal of his various excursions of pleasure.

Sir Philip Francis was not a member of either house of Parliament. But it is evident from the letters that Junius was a member of the House of Commons. In a letter, 1770, he says, 'The Speaker began with pretended ignorance, and ended with deciding for the ministry. *We* were not surprised at the decision; but he hesitated and blushed for his own baseness, and every man was astonished.' Again, 1771, 'Yet *we have seen him in the House of Commons* overwhelmed with confusion, and almost bereft of his faculties.' Again, '*My vote* will hardly recommend him to an increase of his pension or a seat in the cabinet.' Again, 'I willingly accept of a sarcasm from Colonel Barré or a simile from Mr Burke. Even the silent vote of Mr Calcraft is worth reckoning in a division.' There are many such instances as these. He moreover exhibits so intimate, so peculiar a knowledge of its customs, its duties, and limits; of every measure which is agitated within its walls, from its

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commencement to its end; of the character and manners and sentiments of its members, and of the distinct nature of their individual eloquence, as could not well be possessed by any but one of their own number.

Junius declared that he was not personally acquainted with George Grenville; but Sir Philip must have been so, since he served with him a short time in office. He possessed, likewise, the personal favor of Lord Egremont, Mr Grenville's brother-in-law.

The friendships and connexions of Sir Philip, with but one exception, are another objection to his claims. There are innumerable cases in which Sir Philip cannot be shown to have entertained those personal enmities, which Junius evinces, and which alone can account for the fierce hate and scurrilous malignity that burn in so many of the letters. Nor have any motives been ascribed to him, but such as are totally inadequate to have impelled their author in his hazardous and difficult undertaking.

We may now proceed to consider the claims of Lord George Sackville, otherwise Lord George Germain, in doing which we shall only present our readers with a short abstract of the arguments, which have been set forth with much force by the author of the work entitled 'Junius Unmasked.'

Lord Sackville was a son of the Duke of Dorset, and born in 1716. At the age of fourteen, after having spent some time at Westminster school, he accompanied his father to Ireland, and was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, with a high reputation for his literary attainments. At the age of twenty-one, he held a commission in the army. In 1740, he was Lieutenant Colonel. In 1742, he went with George the Second to Hanover. From that period till 1759, he was distinguished, in many engagements, for his courage and military skill. He was at the battle of Culloden in Scotland, 1746, and in 1758 was appointed Lieutenant General. In 1759 the battle of Minden was fought, at which he was accused of disobeying the orders of Prince Ferdinand, and for that reason was degraded by a court martial and abused by the king. In 1765, he was restored to favor and appointed Privy Counsellor and Vice-Treasurer of Ireland. He was in the House of Commons from 1760 to 1782, when he received the dignity of the peerage and was called to the House of Lords. In 1775, he was made Secretary for the American department, and appointed Richard Cumberland his

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under-secretary and Mr D'Oyley his confidential secretary. He took the title of Germain in consequense of the will of a lady of that name, who bequeathed to him 20,000 pounds, besides valuable estates.

As a general consideration it may be noticed that the situation of Privy Counsellor, which Lord Sackville held during ten years from 1765, rendered his opportunities for information of the most secret nature in regard to every department of the government very far superior to those of any other individual, who has ever been suspected as the author of Junius. His friendship for Mr D'Oyley reveals the source of Junius' knowledge in regard to the war office, and his situation as Vice-Treasurer of Ireland accounts for the very surprising and intimate acquaintance, which Junius manifested with the most secret deliberations in regard to the affairs of that kingdom. His age and experience; his long and intimate acquaintance with the history of his country, and especially that of his own times; his familiarity with every family of rank in England; his service as a soldier, his interest in the army and his practical knowledge of every thing connected with it; his personal acquaintance with the king; his legal and political learning, acquired not only from the study of the English constitution, but from the practice of its forms and the observation of its workings in the House of Commons; his attainments as a scholar and a man of the world; in fine, all the circumstances of his life and character, rendered him well fitted for a task like that of composing the letters of Junius. We shall arrange the arguments in his favor in the same order as they have been summed up by the author of 'Junius Unmasked.'

1. The suspicion of the times. This rested more generally on Sackville than on any other person. Sir William Draper believed him to have been Junius. Mr Woodfall suspected him. Some of the writers who opposed Junius intimated that he was Sackville. Very many entertained the same belief. It is a just remark that this general suspicion is of much weight, since many reasons for it might then have existed, which are now lost, and since contemporaries were the best judges of talents, motives, and all the probabilities in the case.

2. Sackville possessed the necessary abilities and learning. We have seen what his education had been, and as to his powers of intellect the testimony is very ample. The Gentleman's Magazine, among other instances, calls him 'a man of extraor-

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dinary talent;' as to his pen, 'all-powerful;'—'he had the art of painting in words to a very eminent degree, and which afforded the finest ornaments in either poetry, history, or elocution.' Bisset says of him, 'This nobleman, after his retirement from military life, had devoted himself to political affairs; he was an acute reasoner and a respectable speaker, distinguished for closeness of argument, precision and neatness of language.—He had shown himself extremely inimical to the Grafton administration. From that circumstance, *together with his reputed abilities*, he was by many deemed the author of Junius.' No man can doubt his powers of mind, who has seen any of his speeches, or has read his 'Short Address' to the public on occasion of his disgrace, contained in Smollet's Continuation of Hume.

3. Lord Sackville felt the influence of those strong motives which only are adequate to account for the letters of Junius. Bitter personal hostility, keen indignation, together with eager ambition and 'views of future honor and advantage,' displayed in his persevering attempts to overthrow the ministry, and betrayed in his private notes, are the marked characteristics of his letters. Sackville's temper was naturally irascible, and after his unjust military disgrace he was keenly indignant towards all whom he looked upon as it authors. Now it happens that the very families and persons most violently attacked by Junius were either the agents in that disgrace, or succeeded to the places which Sackville held, or gained the offices which he might well expect; the Duke of Grafton, whose brother, Colonel Fitzroy, was the principal witness against him, the Marquis of Granby, another important witness against him, Lord George Townshend, Lord Charles Manners, the Duke of Bedford, on whom was bestowed an office in Ireland, of which Sackville was deprived, and some others. The ambition of Lord George Sackville is evident from his whole history; and we believe he resorted to the letters of Junius as the surest means by which he might secretly remove the obstacles to his own advancement, wreak vengeance on his enemies, overthrow the ministry of which they constituted the greater part, and raise his own family upon their ruins.

4. Sackville had been a soldier; so had Junius, as we have already seen from a passage in one of his letters. The frequent military illustrations and allusions in others are additional proof of this point.

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5. Lord Sackville had the friendships and animosities, manifested in the letters of Junius. Several of Junius' letters prove that he was the friend of Sir Jeffery Amherst. Now Sackville and Amherst were intimate from childhood; lived together in Ireland; and when Sackville came into power it was through his influence that Sir Jeffery was appointed commander in chief and created a baron. Junius was an admirer of Mr Grenville; so was Lord Sackville. From Junius' letters to Wilkes it is most evident that he was the friend of Mr Sawbridge; Sackville was likewise. Their estates were contiguous, and Sackville, in 1768, resigned his right to the representation of a borough in favor of Mr Sawbridge, and procured for him his election.

Junius, in February, 1772, mentions 'General Fowke as a brave and worthy man.' Sackville was the friend of the General.

Junius was at first, as we have seen, extremely hostile to Lord Chatham. Sackville and Lord Chatham had been mutually offended.

Junius was evidently hostile to the princess Dowager and Lord Bute. After his unmerited disgrace, Sackville was prevented by those individuals from seeing the Prince of Wales, afterwards George the Third, with whom he had previously been familiar.

Junius was excessively bitter towards the Scotch; a majority of the officers in the court martial which condemned Sackville were Scotchmen. He had moreover served a year in Scotland against the friends of the Pretender.

The enmity of Junius towards Lord Mansfield was truly malignant. It was almost demoniacal. In his private notes we meet with such expressions as these. 'We have got the rascal *down*, let us strangle him if it be possible.' Again. 'I will never rest till I have destroyed or expelled that wretch. The fellow truckles already.' In his public letters he writes thus. 'Our language has no term of reproach, the mind has no idea of detestation, which has not already been happily applied to you and exhausted.—Ample justice has been done, by abler pens than mine to the separate merits of your life and character. Let it be *my* humble office to collect the scattered sweets, till their united virtue tortures the sense.' Sackville was likewise inimical to Lord Mansfield. That celebrated judge was his legal adviser before his trial, and assured him that he could

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not be condemned. He was mistaken; and the author of 'Junius Unmasked' thinks that Lord Sackville might even suspect him of treachery. Be this as it may, Sackville's animosity towards Lord Mansfield is beyond a doubt, and there is a circumstance of coincidence between the threats of Junius and the conduct of Sackville in relation to the judge, which is very extraordinary. Junius sternly asserted the duty of impeaching Mansfield, and Lord Sackville more than intimated the same in a powerful speech in support of a motion to inquire into the administration of criminal justice. We make the following extract from this speech, that we may at the same time exhibit the sentiments of the author on this subject, and present our readers with a fair specimen of his style.

'Consider, gentlemen, what will be the consequence of refusing this demand, this debt, which you owe to the anxious expectation of the public. The people seeing his [Lord Mansfield's] avowed defenders so loth to bring him forth on the public stage, and to make him plead his cause before their tribunal, will naturally conclude, that he could not bear the light, because his deeds were evil; and that, therefore, you judged it right to screen him behind the curtain of a majority. Though his conduct was never questioned in parliament, mark how he is, every day and every hour, pointed out in print and conversation, as a perverter of the law and an enemy of the constitution. No epithet is too bad for him. Now he is the subtile Scroggs, now the arbitrary Jeffries. All the records of our courts of law and all the monuments of our lawyers are ransacked, in order to find sufficiently odious names, by which he may be christened. The libellous and virulent spirit of the times has overleaped all the barriers of law, order, and decorum. The judges are no longer revered, and the laws have lost all their salutary terrors. Juries will not convict petty delinquents, when they suspect grand criminals go unpunished. Hence libels and lampoons audacious beyond the example of all other times; libels, in comparison of which, the North Briton, once deemed the *ne plus ultra* of sedition, is perfect innocence and simplicity. The sacred Number Forty-five, formerly the idol of the multitude, is eclipsed by the superior venom of every day's defamation; all its magical and talismanic powers are lost and absorbed in the general deluge of scandal, which pours from the press. When matters are thus circumstanced, when the judges in general and Lord Mansfield in particular are there hung out to public scorn and detestation, now that libellers receive no countenance from men high in power and in the public esteem, what will be the consequence when it is universally known, that they have been arraign-

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ed, and that their friends quashed the inquiry, which it was proposed to make upon their conduct? The consequence is more easily conceived than expressed. I foresee that the imps of the press, the sons of ink, and the printer's devils will be all in motion, and they will spare you as little as they will the judges. Like the two thieves in the Gospel, both will be hung up and gibbeted, with the law crucified between you, for the entertainment of coffee-house politicians, greasy carmen, porters and barbers in tippling-houses and night-cellars. I cannot help thinking that it is the will of Lord Mansfield himself to have his conduct examined; nay I collect as much from the language of a gentleman who may be supposed to know his sentiments. What foundation then is there for obstructing the inquiry? None at all. It is a pleasure to me to see my noble friend discovering such symptoms of conscious innocence. His ideas perfectly coincide with my own. I would never oppose the minutest scrutiny into my behavior. However much condemned by the envy or malice of enemies, I would at least show that I stood acquitted in my own mind. *Qui fugit judicium, ipso teste, reus est.*'

A few days after this speech was delivered, Junius said in reference to it, 'Let it be known to posterity, that when Lord Mansfield was attacked with so much vehemence in the House of Commons, not one of the ministry said a word in his defence.'

This speech affords instances of that profane levity in Scriptural allusions, which is often to be met with in Junius.

6. Junius was, as we have already seen, a member of the House of Commons. So was Lord Sackville.

7. Lord Sackville entertained the political sentiments exhibited by Junius. Junius was an advocate for triennial parliaments; so was Sackville. Junius supported the stamp act; so did Sackville. Junius was in favor of repealing the duty on tea, 'as an impolitic act, not an oppressive one.' Sackville supported this measure, and for precisely the same reasons. Junius was opposed to a reform in parliament by cutting away the rotten boroughs. So was Lord Sackville, who represented a borough he had purchased.

8. Junius was a man of rank and possessed an independent fortune. In addition to the proofs already exhibited of this point, it may be remarked that no other than a man of high rank, and one personally acquainted with George the Third, could have spoken as Junius did of that monarch. 'I know that man much better than any of you. Nature intended him only for a good-humored fool. A systematic education with

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longpractice has made him a consummate hypocrite.'—'As to the satirical part, I must tell you, *and with positive certainty*, that our gracious ——— is as callous as stockfish to everything but the reproach of cowardice. That alone is able to set the humors afloat. After a paper of that kind he won't eat meat for a week.' Lord Sackville's rank and situation gave him access to the person of the king; and having been familiar with him from his youth, he was intimately acquainted with his habits and disposition.

9. It is a singular fact that one of Junius' letters, signed *Arthur Tell-truth*, was dated near the signature, with the words 'Pall Mall,' the name of the street in which Lord Sackville resided. This noblemen is shown to have been in the habit of dating his letters in the same manner, and it was doubtless through inadvertence that he thus, in this instance, betrayed the place of his residence.

10. In a private letter Junius says of a correspondent of the printer, 'That Swinney is a wretched but dangerous fool. He had the impudence to go to Lord Sackville, *whom he had never spoken to*, and to ask him whether or no he was the author of Junius;—take care of him.' This is a remarkable circumstance. If the writer of this letter was not Sackville, how could he know that Swinney had never spoken to him? It was penned very shortly after the event, and proves an intimacy with his Lordship's connexions, family, and sentiments, which is unaccountable on any other supposition.

11. All the internal evidence which the letters contain in regard to the age and experience of Junius, comports exactly with that of Lord Sackville.

12. The strong anxiety which Junius manifested for concealment, and the resolution that his secret should die with him, and the fact that after nearly seventy-five years his name has not been declared, are all explained by the life and character and circumstances of Sackville.

13. Cumberland, in his Memoirs, observes, 'I never knew that my friend, Lord George Germain, was amongst the suspected authors, *till he told me so by way of jest a few days before his death.*' It is singular that an aged man just going to his grave, with many objects of importance to absorb his time and attention, should thus recur to a suspicion of his having written the letters of Junius nearly twenty years before, and be disposed to make it an occasion of jest. Looking upon him as

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their real author, it was perhaps natural that he should thus cautiously mention the grand secret, which was laboring in his bosom and occupying his thoughts.

14. Sackville, just before his death, requested an interview with Lord Mansfield. In the account which Mr Cumberland gives of this scene, his conduct appears truly mysterious. In a singular speech he begged Lord Mansfield's forgiveness '*if* he had ever appeared in his eyes unjust to his great merits.' Lord Mansfield made a becoming and satisfactory reply and retired; but he must have been astonished at such a reception from the dying man, if he had no suspicion of his being the author of Junius' Letters. Sackville performed this act to quiet the demands of his conscience. When reminded by Cumberland of the nearness of his death, and the propriety of receiving the sacrament, 'he declared himself ready, and at peace with all mankind; in one instance only, he confessed it cost him a hard struggle.'

15. Sackville's style bore a great similarity to that of Junius, as the author of 'Junius Unmasked' has proved from a close comparison of some of his writings with the letters.

The objections to the claims of Sackville are the following.

1. A letter of his, inserted in the first volume of Woodfall's Junius, which is so miserably written, that, if indeed it be his own composition, it constitutes a most singular anomaly, not only when compared with the letters of Junius, but with his Lordship's own writings, and with his known and acknowledged talents.

2. Junius, in one of his miscellaneous letters consisting of a dialogue between five members of the administration, and entitled 'Grand Council upon the affairs of Ireland, after eleven adjournments,' accuses Lord Sackville of a want of courage. 'I believe the best thing I can do, will be to consult with my Lord George Sackville. His character is known and respected in Ireland as much as it is here; and I know he loves to be *stationed in the rear* as well as myself.' This is supposed to be uttered by Lord Townshend. Sackville might have feared lest the intimate knowledge, discovered in this letter, of the affairs of Ireland, and the sentiments of the administration, would betray its author, and so might have introduced that insinuation for the purpose of an impenetrable disguise. On the whole we are disposed to adopt the opinion of the author of 'Junius Unmasked' that the beautiful set of his Letters, 'bound

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in vellum, gilt and lettered,' which Junius requested of Mr Woodfall, 'might be found, if they have not been destroyed, in a secret cabinet of the present Duke of Dorset, the son of Lord George Sackville.'

For a greater number of arguments, and a more satisfactory exposition of them, we must refer our readers to the work from which the preceding summary is principally drawn. It contains an interesting memoir of the life of Lord Sackville, with many excellent remarks upon his moral and religious character. Its author has reasoned in a fair and candid, and, what is equally uncommon, a concise manner, without attempting to alter facts or give an undue coloring to circumstances, or to draw out a few arguments in a long and imposing array. He has added an Appendix to prove that the 'History of the Reign of George the Third, to the Conclusion of the Session of Parliament ending in May, 1770,' published at London in the latter part of the same year, was written by the author of Junius; and also that Junius was author of the 'North Briton.' He has made both cases appear probable, though no certain conclusion can be drawn in regard to either. In two of Junius' letters we meet with some rather singular coincidences in respect to the first case, which go to confirm the opinion of our author. In a letter to the Duke of Grafton in 1769, Junius intimates an intention of composing a history of that nobleman's administration. 'These observations, general as they are, might easily be extended into a faithful history of your Grace's administration, and perhaps may be the employment of a future hour.' In a note to his letter to the king written also in 1769, he observes of Lord Townshend, 'the history of this ridiculous administration shall not be lost to the public.' If the opinion of our author be correct, Junius was not in these instances, speaking of a mere possibility, but referred to a work which he must have already commenced, and which received when it came forth to the public eye, the high encomiums of Edmund Burke.

In arguing from the comparison of style, the author often draws conclusions from the mere recurrence of the same words. For instance; he compares this sentence of Lord Sackville, 'If from *reasoning* we refer to *facts*,' with the following from Junius, 'It depends upon a combination of *facts* and *reasoning*.' Ten thousand such instances would not add an iota to his argument. In examining an author's style, it is not the use of particular, solitary words, that we are to look to, as if his work

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were a mere spelling-book; it is the march and structure of his sentences, the ease, dignity, vigor, and beauty which they may display,—it is the general features which characterize him, the grand impression which whole pages leave upon the mind, that ought to be regarded.

Our author's estimate of the moral character of Junius, though severe, is strictly just. In the blaze of his intellectual glory, the world has long suffered the moral faults of this terrible satirist to remain concealed. In the little volume before us they are brought out to view, and treated with the stern censure which they deserve. The irreverent use which Junius makes of the name of God is noticed in several instances. We recollect another which is too remarkable to be passed over. It occurs in a letter to Wilkes. 'The facts are as I understood them, and *with the blessing of God*, I will pull Mansfield to the ground.' Our author observes, 'Whether a man, accustomed to speak and write in this manner, as unhappily is the case with too many *gentlemen*, can be an habitual worshipper of God, and daily influenced in his conduct by the fear of the Almighty, or by a regard to his approbation,—the only stable principle of morals,—I leave it to the intelligent reader to judge.' There is one striking coincidence between the moral principles of Sackville as exhibited in his conduct, and those of Junius as displayed in his writings, which we cannot but notice. Sackville was a duellist. Junius declares, 'The man who receives a blow and does not return it, whether he be a king or a private person, from that moment stands degraded from his natural rank and condition. If he be a young man, his infamy is immortal.'!! 'In that mind,' says our author, 'which dreads the laugh of a mortal more than the displeasure of the Almighty, there must be a miserable perversion of intellect and of passion. There may be a claim to worldly honor; but the pretension to virtue, to morals, to principle, is ridiculous.'

As the finest model in the English language of that style which combines energy with polished ease, the letters of Junius will never cease to be studied. But we hope they will be read with a just discernment of their moral deformity, and a deep disapprobation of their rancorous malice. While we resort to them for the intellectual gratification and discipline which they afford, let us be cautious not to imbibe or imitate their malignant and revengeful spirit. We may use his bow and quiver, but let us not, like Junius, dip our arrows in poison.

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We deprecate the prevalence of that bitterness and hatred, either private or political, which these letters are but too well adapted to foster; which regard not the falsehood, the injustice, or the unfeeling cruelty of a sentence, if it do but carry an agonizing pang to the heart.

ART. III.—*Cours de Littérature Grecque Moderne, donné a Genève par* JACOVAKY RIZO NEROULOS, Ancien Premier Ministre des Hospodars Grecs de Valachie et de Moldavie; publié par JEAN HUMBERT. Genève, 1828. 8vo. pp. 204.

THE deep interest taken by the people of this country in the fate of Greece, and the universal wish for the emancipation of that oppressed nation, have made us well acquainted with the political and military events of the war recently waged by the cross against the crescent. But in regard to the intellectual condition, or, in other words, the literature of Modern Greece, very little is known either in the United States or Europe. Few, indeed, of the most eminent Greeks themselves understand the great points of difference between the language of Demosthenes and that of Coray. In the present article we propose to sketch a brief outline of modern Greek literature, drawing our facts chiefly from the work of M. Rizo, of whom it is slight praise to say, that he appears to be an enthusiast in his subject, and has treated it with a master's hand.

As introductory to our chief purpose, a few remarks on the ancient Greek language and literature will be sufficient. The earliest poetry, which has come down from antiquity, is the mystical or religious, and has its origin in the theocratic form of government. It was introduced into Greece by the founders of the first colonies, who established oracles to speak according to their caprice by the mouth of priestesses. These were probably aided by the invention of hexameters, ascribed to the Pythian Phemonoe; and hence it has been said, out of compliment to the fair half of creation, that, since Greek poetry owes its origin to a female, we are no longer to wonder at its surpassing beauty and sweetness. Then came the age of heroes and of wild deeds of war and prowess. Poetry tells us of the acts of Hercules, Perseus, Jason, Theseus. It escapes from the pupilage of the priestesses, and goes abroad upon the

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earth, celebrating feats of arms, and describing man and nature. Homer carried this kind of poetry to its highest elevation. He has been followed by imitators, but by no equals. To him, or rather to his poems, Greece was indebted for many of the great men, who were the glory and boast of their country. The age of Homer, content with having produced the father of poetry, presents us with nothing else remarkable, unless it be the confederation of the Ionian colonies to resist the growing and menacing power of the kings of Lydia; a confederation not unlike that of the Swiss, or of the Hanseatic towns. Liberty, the mother of great men, was not parsimonious of her bounties under this republic; in proof of which it is enough to cite the names of Pythagoras, Thales, Hippocrates, Herodotus, and Simonides. This confederated republic declined at length under the reiterated attacks of the Medes and Persians, and Liberty fled for an asylum to Sparta and Athens, where she received the protection of the laws and institutions of Solon and Lycurgus. During this period the sages of Greece were occupied with the science of governing and the principles of public right, and abandoned the language of images and the rhythm of poetry for the more severe and simple style of prose, in which they explained the reciprocal duties of men in society. The most ancient prose writers wrote in the Ionic dialect, of whom Herodotus is an example. After these came the Attic prose writers, at the head of whom is Pericles, whose funeral Oration for the Athenians that died in the first year of the Peloponnesian war, is the most ancient fragment of Attic prose known to exist.

The victories of the Athenians and Lacedæmonians over the Persians raised these two nations above the rest of Greece. Athens surpassed Sparta in literature, the sciences, and the fine arts. By her political preponderance, and by the moral ascendency of her great writers, she became the arbitress of good taste, and the Attic dialect was everywhere the language of polished society. After having exhausted various kinds of versification, the poetic genius of Greece invoked Melpomene, and on the theatres of Athens were represented the tragedies of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. This was the age of Grecian glory, when the language and the arts had attained their greatest perfection. Pericles and Alcibiades began a change that proved fatal; they aspired to govern, and their ambition could only be satisfied by corrupting the people. Let the

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death of Socrates, and the applause with which the populace received the impudent railleries of Aristophanes, bear witness to the degradation that followed. Here ended the brilliant period of Greek literature. No more was seen that noble, harmonious, simple, elegant, and nervous style, which characterized the writers of former times. The Greek language, spread over an immense space by Alexander and his successors, disfigured and corrupted by foreign mixtures, lost by degrees its character and originality. The battle of Chæronea, where the independence of Greece expired; the universal monarchy of Alexander, his premature death, the interminable wars of his successors; Rome, the conqueror and tyrant of the world;—all these disastrous events gave a mortal blow to Grecian art and literature. The school of Alexandria, with a few exceptions, formed only plagiarists in poetry, insipid grammarians, sterile commentators, and dialecticians fruitful in unintelligible abstractions. The domination of Rome was not less pernicious. Mendicant sophists, charletans in literature, and philosophers without knowledge, inundated Rome, Alexandria, Syria, and Greece. Now and then a superior genius appeared, but eminent writers were rather imitators than inventors. Polybius, Lucian, Plutarch, Pausanias, are examples of high name, but still they are examples in point.

The seat of the Roman empire was transferred to Byzantium, and then the Latin tongue assumed a dominant influence. The court, the military, and the higher ranks affected to speak the language of their conquerors. Thus the Greek was corrupted anew; but the Eastern Church, always free, and always above political vicissitudes, preserved the original language of the Evangelists. It produced such men as Basil, Gregory, Cyril, and Chrysostom. In these models of Christian eloquence the Greek language seemed approaching its former purity and force, when all at once a host of sects sprang up, and spread darkness over the Church. Morals and the duties of men in society ceased to be preached, and deep and subtile points of theology were discussed in their stead. Of this jargon of obscure terms and vague ideas, the people could understand nothing. Constantinople was a centre, which drew together strangers and soldiers from all nations; and in this great city all sorts of barbarous dialects were spoken, and the purity of the Greek became more and more corrupted.

Constantinople at length fell into the hands of Mahomet the

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Second, and many Greeks distinguished for talents and merit, passed into Europe, where they excited a taste for studying their language and literature. But a language cultivated in a foreign country, says Rizo, is like an inanimate body, a mummy artificially embalmed, whole in all its parts, and capable of being preserved for ages, but without the hope of its ever giving the least sign of life. So it was with the ancient Greek in the hands of these teachers. It is time for us to leave this branch of the subject, therefore, and to speak of the origin, progress, and formation of the modern Greek idiom. In its great features, indeed, this is no other than the ancient language, which has undergone such modifications as time and circumstances have introduced in the manner of conceiving and expressing ideas. The chief alterations have been confined to the introduction of various words, mostly from the Turkish and Italian, and to certain forms of nouns and verbs growing out of long usage. It may be said, that the difference between the two dialects consists rather in the style, than in the basis of the language. In short, this new dialect partakes of the genius and color of the modern idioms, without losing anything of the ductility, the opulence, or variety of the ancient.

The Ottoman power, rooted at Constantinople, threatened to exterminate not only the political existence, but the religion, language, and manners of the Greeks. Providence favored them in the midst of these perils; for Mahomet the Second, fearing the influence of the West, gave countenance to the Greek Church, and protected its patriarch. Gennadius Scholarius, the first patriarch elected by Mahomet after the taking of Constantinople, was a distinguished ecclesiastic, a friend of the Muses, and well understood the value of education. By his order the clergy of Constantinople wrote their polemic works in ancient Greek. He established a school near the patriarchal church; by degrees a large and valuable library of manuscripts was collected from different quarters and preserved here with great care; and the college, although not recognised by the government, acquired great renown.* Ancient Greek, philoso-

*'It was Theotoky who long afterthis period suggested to Gregory Ghika, secretary and interpreter to the Ottoman Porte, the idea of visiting the remains of the library of the last Greek Emperors preserved in the interior of the seraglio. Ghika, being on terms of intimacy with the person who guarded the treasures of the Ottoman empire, obtained permission to examine the library. The only thing he found

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phy, and literature were studied with ardor, and the honor of a professorship in this college was sought by the most eminent men.

During the interval between the taking of Constantinople and the end of the seventeenth century, other schools were established in different parts of Greece, as at Mount Athos, Jannina, Smyrna, Patmos, Corfu, Larissa. These seminaries from time to time sent out several distinguished men, as Corydalæus of Athens, Notara, Zygomalas, Dositheus patriarch of Jerusalem, Sebastos, Basil of Smyrna, and others. But it is nevertheless true, that till the beginning of the eighteenth century modern Greek was stationary, for it was not till after that period that the new literature assumed a separate form. Until then the learned men wrote in the ancient dialect, affecting to despise their spoken language, much in the same way as in some of the countries of Europe, where the scholars till very recently have communicated their ideas to the world in a barbarous Latin.

The space of time between the epoch when modern Greek began to be written, and the present day, that is, about a century and a quarter, may be divided into three distinct periods. The first comprehends the dawn of modern Greek literature, and extends from the commencement to the middle of the last century. The Turkish government accorded important privileges to the Greeks in choosing from among their numbers interpreters and the princes of Wallachia and Moldavia. The credit of these princes with the ministry was the means of meliorating the condition of the nation. Under their auspices letters were cultivated anew, schools established, and light extended. An-

worth taking away was a series of commentaries on the Old Testament. He took a copy of it and returned the manuscript.

'Notwithstanding this ill success of Ghika, it was always believed that there existed in the library of the seraglio lost works of the Latin and Greek classics. But General Sebastiani confirmed the testimony of Prince Ghika. This ambassador of France at Constantinople, esteemed by the Sultan, and enjoying an extraordinary influence with the Ottoman ministry, asked as a signal favor the permission of visiting the library in the seraglio. Selim not only granted this request, but ordered the guardian of the imperial treasure to show the ambassador the whole library, to give him time to examine it, and to offer him, as a present from the Sultan, such books as he might choose. Sebastiani examined scrupulously all the books contained in the imperial library, but he found only parchments on ecclesiastical matters, and he chose a manuscript of the New Testament.' *Cours de Littérature*, &c. p. 176.

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cient Greek was also studied with particular assiduity. The second period, which extends from the middle to the end of the century, was characterized by the introduction of the scientific knowledge of Europe into Greece. Many works on history, ethics, and philosophy were translated, and schools increased, several of which rose to be lyceums and universities. Numerous Greeks, after having studied in Europe, returned to their own country and devoted themselves to the honorable employment of public instruction. The third and most recent period has owed its success to the spirit of the analytical philosophy, which has been introduced into the systems of instruction, and above all, into the study of the Greek language. A noble and patriotic ambition has inspired the public teachers with a desire to raise their country from its degradation; men of superior qualifications have labored to establish the modern and most improved methods of teaching, to infuse liberal and elevated ideas into their compatriots, to form the new language on regular principles, and in short to render the Greek people worthy to hold a place among the civilized nations of Europe.

The first period was rendered illustrious by the families of Mavrocordato, Mourouzi, Ypsilanti, and others, who prepared the way for the second and third. Eugene Bulgaris was among the number of those, who attained eminence in the second period. Catharine, in the midst of her ambitious views, confided to his charge the education of the Grand Duke Constantine, and it was by her order that he translated into Homeric verse the Æneid of Virgil. His example was followed by Nicephorus Theotoky, who wrote a treatise on Physics and a complete course of Mathematics. Discontented in his own country he retired to Russia, where he was well received, and where he ended his days. Soon afterwards the irresistible force of the French arms, and the new ideas which the French revolution spread everywhere, were near producing their full effect in Greece. M. Negris, alluding to this subject in an unpublished discourse addressed to the Americans, observes,

Ἡ ἐπανάςασις τῆς Γαλλίας, ἥτις παρηκολούθησε τὴν ἰδικήν σας, ἐπανάςασις ἀπαραδειγμάτιστος εἰς τὸ εἶδός της, καὶ ἧς τὰ κατὰ περίςασιν ἐπελθόντα φρικτώτατον εἰς ὅλα τὰ ἔθνη ἔδωκαν τιναγμὸν, δὲν ἔλειψεν ὁμοίως νὰ κάμῃ ἀποτέλεσμα καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

'The revolution in France, which followed closely upon yours,—a revolution without example in its character, and the incidents of which gave a terrible shock to all nations,—hardly failed to be equally felt in Greece.'

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It was at this time that Riga, a native of Velestin in Thessaly, conceived the great project of freeing his country from the yoke of its oppressors. Attached to the service of Prince Michael Soutzo, hospodar of Wallachia, he suddenly quitted that principality in 1796, and repaired to Vienna, where he associated himself with several other Greeks, who partook of his enthusiasm and united in his plan. But the project was whispered in the ears of the Austrian police before it was matured, and the unfortunate Riga was seized at Trieste just as he was ready to embark for the Peloponnesus. He was given up to the Turks and executed at Belgrade, a martyr to liberty, as his countrymen say, and the victim of a mean and cruel policy. Riga was the author of a work, in modern Greek, forming a popular course of Physics, and also of a geographical chart of Greece. These were his only scientific works; deserting Euler and Newton, he courted the muse of Tyrtæus, and composed patriotic songs, which he hoped one day to sing at the head of his Greek battalions. 'Correctly written in modern Greek,' says Rizo, 'and embellished with the charms of heroic poetry, these songs gained a still wider influence by the music in which they were sung. Throughout Greece nothing was heard but the songs of Riga; the young people repeated them everywhere in their little circles and their festivities; in the winter by the fireside, in the summer under the shade of the olive and plane trees. These songs braved the ears of the barbarians even in the capital of the Sultan. In the parties of pleasure given by the Turkish ministers, I have myself heard them order the Greek musicians to sing the air,—*Come on, sons of Greece!* The air of this song afforded great pleasure to the Turks, who only knew by heart the first words, without having any curiosity to ascertain their sense. It is an imitation of the *Marseilles Hymn.*'

The spirit and purpose of this song will be seen by the following literal translation of the two first stanzas.

'Come on, sons of Greece, sons of renowned men! The day of glory is arrived. Bones of the illustrious dead, come forth, spring from your tombs and resume life anew; behold your country in groans and tears. To arms, Greeks, to arms! Let the blood of our enemy flow in rivers at our feet!

'Brave Greeks! Sons of Spartans! All those who are united to us by a common faith, approach, let us embrace as brothers, and with our sword in hand take this solemn oath,—"In the name of my faith, in the name of my country, in the name of my hope

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in God, I draw the sword, and I will not return it to its scabbard, till the oppressive race of cruel Mussulmans shall be extinct." To arms, Greeks! to arms; let us cleave the heads of the infidel Turks!'

The fate of Riga was a signal of mourning throughout Greece, and it kindled in his countrymen the desire of vengeance. It taught them also the necessity of concerting future projects with more caution. At this epoch a better mode of instruction was adopted. Hitherto the classic authors had been studied chiefly for their style, their rhetoric, or their eloquence. A different system began now to come into use, by which the professors taught the youth not merely to detect the beauties of the composition and charms of diction, but led them to look more deeply into the characters, manners, principles of politics, and usages of society unfolded in these immortal works of antiquity. They taught them to trace out there the deeds of their ancestors, and to perceive the causes of the ancient prosperity and subsequent decline of Greece. Among the most conspicuous professors, who taught in this manner, were Lambros Photiades, Philippides, Constandas, Benjamin, Psalidas of Jannina, Proïus, Stephen Duncas, and above all Coray. Lambros was a native of Jannina, and for some time held the chair of Belles Lettres in the Lyceum of Bucharest. One of his principal pupils was Neophyte Doukas of Epirus, who now occupies the first chair in the same college. Doukas has translated Thucydides into modern Greek with notes, and has also given an edition of the Athenian Orators, and the Histories of Arrian and Herodotus. There are Dialogues on moral and literary subjects from his pen. It is told to his praise, that he distributed gratuitously copies of his works to different schools in Greece and to necessitous students.

Philippides was a native of a small village at the foot of Mount Pelion. Deeply versed in ancient Greek, which he had studied in the colleges of Greece, he went to France, where he became master of the exact sciences. Constandas, the friend and fellow townsman of Philippides, studied in Italy. They both returned together to their native country, where they taught the knowledge they had acquired, and where one of them translated the Logic of Condillac, and the other the Institutes of Logic, Metaphysics, and Ethics of Soave. Constandas translated Millot's General History. Philippides returned to France, and passed thence to Germany, where he

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still resides far advanced in age. He has translated and published in modern Greek, De Brisson's Physics, Fourcroy's Chemistry, and Lalande's Astronomy. His most recent work is a learned History of Wallachia, Moldavia, and Bessarabia. Another name of great merit is Benjamin of Lesbos. He founded the college of Cydonia, where he taught fifteen years, drawing around him a large number of young men, many of whom have held and still hold important stations in the provisional government of Greece. Driven from this favorite retreat by jealousy and intrigue, he repaired to Constantinople, whence he was called to a chair in the college of Bucharest. But when the hospodar was compelled to escape from his political troubles by taking refuge in Europe, the professor was deprived of his friend and patron, and thrown again upon the world. 'Benjamin, who understood the proceedings of the *Hetærea*,* and knew that the great scene of the insurrection was not far distant, desired to act a part, and share in the perils of his fellow citizens. At the beginning of this bloody

* The Greek word *Hetærea* signifies *a society*, of which Rizo speaks as follows. 'Riga was its first founder. It was a secret association, the basis of which was religion, and the object of which was the freedom of Greece. One of the principal articles of the *Hetærea* was its isolation from all the other secret societies in Europe. The members were obliged to take an oath, that they would not have the least connexion whatever with any foreign society. The *Hetærea*, founded by Riga, received afterwards many modifications. It had gradations to which men of merit alone could attain; the common people were initiated only in the first degree. Love of religion and country was recommended, as also implacable hatred of the Turks, and a desire to throw off their yoke. The greater part of the enlightened men of the nation were members of the *Hetærea*. It became important and more regularly combined in 1814, when the allied sovereigns had beat down the colossal power of France. Since that time the *Hetærea* has gone on daily increasing by the secret encouragement it has received from the Bible societies, from the society for the abolition of the slave trade, and from the philanthropic principles diffused throughout Europe, preached by wise men, and even by cabinets.' *Cours de Littérature*, &c. p. 179.

'It was Benjamin, who first discovered, or at least first developed the hypothesis of an ethereal substance, which penetrates all bodies, fills all voids, and moves perpetually in every manner and all directions; which is the unique cause of the principal phenomena of nature, as of light, fire, electricity, magnetism, galvanism, sensations, vegetation, and the rotation of bodies in the planetary system. This ethereal substance he calls by a name, which he has made for the purpose, *παντα χινητον*, or *se mouvent partout*.' p. 178.

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contest he found himself in the theatre of events. Simple as a pastor of the primitive church, unmoved by the prospect of the greatest dangers, he went through the Isles of Hydra, Spezzia, and Ipsara, and traversed in every direction the Peloponnesus and eastern Greece, preaching courage and contempt of death in the name of religion and of patriotism. His exhortations breathed the eloquence of the heart; multitudes were carried away by his example; he was of that rare number, who speak little, and leave to their character and their conduct the task of convincing and persuading. Borne up by his own energy under the heaviest fatigues and severest privations, doing all for his country and nothing for himself, he was like the lamp which is consumed in emitting its light. At length his noble career was terminated by the terrible epidemic, which in 1824 made such ravages at Napoli di Romania.' Psalidas of Jannina, a disciple of the celebrated Kant, occupied for a long time the chair of philosophy in the college of Jannina, and by his address contrived to hold his place in safety under the wily and ferocious Ali Pasha. After Ali's death Psalidas took refuge in Corfu, where he still lives.

The island of Scio has produced its full share of men of letters. Among these were Vardalachos, the author of a work, in modern Greek, on experimental Physics, and of another on Rhetoric, at one time professor at Bucharest, afterwards in his native city, and lastly at Odessa; Dorotheus Proïus, who held a chair in the college of Couroutzesme on the Bosphorus for three years, was then successively made archbishop of Philadelphia in Asia Minor and of Adrianople, and finally became a victim to the rage of the barbarians in the first days of the insurrection; Plato, who succeeded him in the college, was afterwards bishop of Scio, and was also massacred. Stephen Dunkas of Thessaly followed Plato in the college of Couroutzesme. He had studied in the Universities of Halle and Göttingen. He wrote a complete course of Mathematics, a treatise on Physics, and one on Ethics. Dunkas possessed a considerable fortune, part of which he expended in purchasing philosophical, chemical, and astronomical instruments, which he caused to be transported to Ambelakia, a town at the foot of Mount Pelion, where in union with the poet Christopoulo, Constandas, and the brothers Capetanaky, he had conceived the project of founding a university. These instruments were dispersed by the Turks, when they destroyed the larger part of the towns and villages in Thessaly.

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Time would fail us, were we to attempt to name all the men of letters, who contributed to form the second period of which we have spoken. We shall pass on, therefore, to the third and last period, during which men of distinguished talents, in forming and fixing the language according to the principles of sound logic and the methods of modern instruction, have contributed at the same time to accelerate the regeneration of Greece. This period is also the most interesting as well on account of the number of works that have appeared in modern Greek, as of the schools established under the special auspices of the *Fanariotes*, or Greek princes, whose influence with the Turkish government enabled them to hide from the eyes of the tyrant in some degree the rapid progress made in the acquisition of new ideas, and in the true interests of the Greek nation. The great political questions, which agitated Europe, operated powerfully towards the emancipation of Greece. The protection afforded by Russia in the letters patent, which she profusely granted, and which the Sultan was obliged to recognise, gave to the Greeks extraordinary facilities of commerce during the war with Spain. The intrepid mariners of Hydra, Spezzia, and Ipsara went to the ports of the Black Sea to load their ships with grain; which they transported and sold at a very high price in the blockaded ports of Spain. With their Russian protections, as soon as they left the Hellespont, they hoisted the Russian flag, which was then neutral. By the aid of this circumstance and many others, commerce was extended, national wealth was increased, and relations were formed with foreign nations. The Greeks soon possessed a mercantile marine, which was able at length to contend with advantage against the naval forces of the Sultan; and in a word it may be said, that commerce ought to be accounted among the principal causes of the restoration of Greece, since commercial enterprise awakens industry, forms a marine, promotes the arts and sciences, and augments the productions and wealth of a country.

The different commercial houses, established by Greeks in almost all the mercantile cities of Europe, have been of great service in aiding the literary progress of the nation, as well by the facilities thus offered for the communication between the Greeks frequenting the universities of Europe and their countrymen at home, as by their contributions to every kind of enterprise, which had for its object the intellectual advancement of the nation. The prospectus of a Greek work

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was hardly announced, when a sufficient number of subscribers was obtained to carry through an impression. To some it may be surprising to learn, that during the first twenty years of the present century *more than three thousand new works* were printed in modern Greek, a large part of which consists of translations made by the most distinguished literary men speaking that tongue. Four journals circulated in Greece, of which the *Telegraph*, Τηλέγραφος, a political journal, and the *Mercury*, Ἑρμῆς ὁ Λόγιος, a literary journal, both printed at Vienna, were conducted by men of eminent abilities and learning. At Odessa, Bucharest, Jassy, and Corfu, theatres were established, where tragedies written in the modern idiom were represented. In short, the national progress has been rapid, beyond what could have been imagined. Happy they, who contributed to this result, whether by their labors, their intelligence, or their ardor in the cause to which they have devoted themselves. Among these is *Coray*, and indeed so much better is he known in the literary world than the others, that the period in question may properly be called after his name.

Coray, born in Smyrna of a family originally from Scio, after having finished his Greek education at Smyrna, went to Montpelier in France where he studied medicine. He commenced his literary career by publishing a French translation of Theophrastus and Hippocrates; but he was not known in Greece till he published in modern Greek Beccaria's treatise on *Crimes and Punishments*, accompanied with notes and prolegomena, and dedicated to the republic of the Seven Isles, then under the protection of France. Travellers and superficial observers, with as much injustice as severity, had defamed Greece by painting her in false colors, and blackening her pretended faults, which existed only in appearances induced by her temporary political condition. Coray, in a memoir written in French, and entitled *De l' Etat actuel de la Civilization de la Grèce*, made known the reviving spirit of the nation, which was represented to be plunged in the most profound lethargy. This work, translated and circulated in Greece, acquainted his countrymen with their growing strength.

Coray undertook the publication of his *Grecian Library* by a selection of authors as judicious as it was analogous to his honorable views in regard to his country; and he was powerfully seconded in bringing out the work by the brothers Zosimas, Greek merchants in Moscow, enjoying an immense

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fortune, which they consecrated to the noblest of purposes, the regeneration of their country. Copies of this noble work, printed at the expense of these brothers, were distributed by their order gratis throughout all the schools of Greece, to such students as had not the means of purchasing it. The notes and prolegomena, joined to the editions of all the works published by Coray, breathe the spirit of a philosopher, a man of letters, and a citizen. His counsels were not without fruit. At his instigation was commenced a Dictionary of ancient Greek, with definitions in modern Greek, and examples taken from classic authors.* In the preliminary discourses prefixed to some of his editions of the classics, Coray treats of many important subjects, such as the improvement of which modern Greek is susceptible, the best method of constructing grammars and of teaching youth, the manner of reading with the greatest prospect of benefit, the light derived from experimental and positive philosophy, and the duties which every Greek owes to his country. The views of Coray on these subjects, expressed with an eloquent simplicity, supported by solid arguments, and sustained by the European reputation of their author, produced a remarkable effect on all the reading population of Greece. Many Greeks from the different colleges were drawn to Europe, and especially to France, by the fame of Coray, and have since become conspicuous in their own country. We may mention Coumas, Vamvas, Economos, Piccolo, Asopius. A long and honorable list might be added.

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* 'The physician Vlastos labored for many years in the composition of a dictionary. Charles Ghika also undertook to translate the great dictionary of Henry Stephens, and to add a large number of words, which were wanting in this *chef-d'œuvre* of the erudition of the sixteenth century. Mourouzy, profiting by the labors of the two philologians, Ghika and Vlastos, formed a society of learned men, procured for them all the Greek dictionaries then published, and furnished the expenses of the great undertaking. In this dictionary is explained in modern Greek all the words of the ancient language; the age of each word is marked and a comparison is made of the senses in which each term has been used during the different periods of Greek literature. The impression of this dictionary (entitled Κιβωτὸς, *Ark of the Greek Language*) was commenced in 1817 at the patriarchal press of Constantinople. One volume only has appeared, coming down to the letter Δ, in large folio, and a beautiful character. Besides the dictionary of Gazis, the Greeks possess at the present day a dictionary of the ancient language, composed from the labors of the German philologians. It is that of Constantine Michael Coumas, printed in Vienna, 1825.' p. 185.

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Until the time of Coray no one had dreamed of any regular system of purifying and refining the modern Greek language. Every writer had followed his particular fancy, without regard to fixed principles, and in accordance with the greater or less degree of knowledge he had of ancient Greek. At the beginning of the present century the most enlightened Greeks perceived the necessity of studying their language more philosophically, and much attention was directed to this subject. Opinions soon became divided, and nearly at the same time three systems sprang up, which were attacked and defended by the different parties with much warmth.

The first system had for its basis a vague idea of enriching the modern idiom, by introducing into it the words and grammatical forms, which had been gradually altered, or totally lost, during the long decline of the Greek language. Upon this principle the style would be a medley of ancient terms and trivial or corrupted expressions of modern origin. Some writers of name adopted this method, at the head of whom was Neophyte Doukas. After him came Meletius, Theotoky, and Eugene. Their doctrine was attacked in due form by Coray, both with the weapons of solid reasoning and of ridicule. He called this species of writing the *macaronic* style.

The characteristic of the second system was to write modern Greek just as it is spoken, without the slightest change either in the acceptation of the words, their variations, or their forms. Its founder was the lawyer Catardzy. Possessing a highly enlightened understanding, he wished to render popular the means of instruction by placing them within the reach of the whole Greek nation; and with a view of aiding his purpose he composed two treatises and a grammar. Philippides was an upholder of this system, and in conformity with it he wrote his translations of Condillac and Lalande. But the person, who contributed the greatest share towards bringing it into vogue, was the lyric poet Athanasius Christopoulo. He adopted all the ideas of Catardzy. Not content to defend the use of the vulgar Greek, he attempted to show that this idiom was one of the numerous dialects of the ancient language, and composed an *Æolico-Dorian Grammar*, in which by an ingenious selection of examples he strove to prove, that the apparent alterations of modern Greek were only forms derived from the ancient Doric and Ionic dialects. Amiable, and endowed with a fine imagination, Christopulo, by the charm of his verse, drew the

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whole world after him. The lighter kind of poetry, which loves simplicity and natural expressions, and which rejects artificial and labored diction, was well suited to his purpose. His Anacreontic odes, written in the most familiar style, were themes of admiration and delight throughout Greece. The ladies, says our author, were staunch supporters of this system, not by learned dissertations, but by the pleasure they expressed in reading the fugitive pieces of the favorite poet of the nation. The following ode, taken at random, will give some idea of the style and manner of Christopoulo.

Ὦ Ἔρωτ᾽ ἀνθηρότατε,	Oh Love, who, brightest, gayest,
Γλυκὲ καὶ ἱλαρώτατε,	With bland dominion swayest
Τοῦ κόσμου κυβερνήτη·	The universe of things;—
Ἐσέν᾽ ὁ νοῦς, τὸ σῶμα μου,	Mind, body, heart proclaim thee,
Τὸ στῆθος, καὶ τὸ στόμα μου,	My tongue delights to name thee,
Λατρεύει καὶ κηρύττει.	And thee adoring sings!
Ἐσὺ θεοὺς κ᾽ αἰθέρια,	To thee all power is given,
Οὐράνια κ᾽ ἀέρια,	And through earth, air, and heaven,
Κρατεῖς καὶ βασιλεύεις·	Thy rule all spirits own;
Καὶ ἕως τὰ αἰώνια	And e'en where glooms eternal
Τῆς γῆς μας καταχθόνια,	Fold Night's old realms infernal,
Τὰ βέλη σου τοξεύεις.	Thy conquering shafts have flown.
Τὸ βλέμμα σου τὸ ἥμερον,	That glance, beneath whose beaming
Ἀπὸ τὸν κόσμον σήμερον,	Life's joyous tide is streaming,
Στιγμὴ σχεδὸν ἂν λείψῃ·	Let that but cease to burn,—
Ἡ φύσις ὅλη σβύνεται,	See Nature's frame decaying—
Καὶ καταντᾷ καὶ γίνεται	See all her bright arraying
Κατήφεια καὶ θλίψη.	To sombre sadness turn!
Ἀμίμητα τὰ κάλλη σου,	Thy charms, above comparing,
Ἡ δύναμη μεγάλη σου,	Thy power, beyond declaring,
Μεγάλη σου ἡ δόξα·	Glory, all thought above;—
Λατρεύω τὴν αἰώνιαν	Thy darts, which time assails not,
Καὶ θαυμαστήν σου πρόνοιαν,	Thy providence, which fails not,
Καὶ τ᾽ ἄφθαρτά σου τόξα.	I worship, mighty Love!

It is to be observed, that notwithstanding the success of this poet in his lighter effusions and the high admiration they have excited, yet he has had few imitators. In his case, the vulgar idiom is ennobled by the genius and delicate taste of the writer, but it becomes insipid and coarse, when flowing from the pen of a less gifted genius. Christopoulo would have been a poet in any language, which he had cultivated enough to express his own warm feelings, and describe the simple beauties of nature.

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Such was the state of uncertainty in the modern Greek language, which existed without any fixed rules, any character as a whole, or any universal principles. Violent disputes arose, much ink was spilled, and the war of the quill waxed fierce and alarming. Coray perceived the danger that threatened the language, in the midst of this confusion, and interposed the weight of his authority and zeal to avert the mischief. He sought a middle ground, and devised a plan, which should cause the language to be written correctly and intelligibly, at the same time it should satisfy both the learned and the common people. He laid it down as a principle, that the modern tongue should be gradually purified and elevated, avoiding, however, such ancient forms, as no longer accord with its genius; that foreign words should be discarded, and their place supplied as far as possible by judicious drafts on the treasure of ancient Greek; and that foreign idioms should be banished, such as Gallicisms, Italicisms, and Germanisms, which had been introduced by the numerous translations. This system, of which Coray was the originator, soon gained attention. Hereupon a new contest arose, and the followers of Coray, in the height of their fanaticism and the fire of their zeal, came near overthrowing and destroying all that their master had built up before them. Greece was inundated with the works of these pretended *Κοραϊζαὶ*, *Corayists*, written in an unintelligible style, filled with fantastical and new-coined expressions found in no author anicent or modern. The contagion spread daily, till the writers themselves could hardly comprehend each other, or decipher their own writings. In this state of things (1812), Rizo wrote a comedy entitled, *Κοραϊστικὰ*, *The New Jargon of the Learned*, in which his object was, not to attack the system of Coray, but to expose the extravagances of those who had disfigured it. This weapon of ridicule had some effect in arresting the progress of the epidemic. Time consolidated the system of Coray; in all its essential points it was approved by intelligent men; and from that period the language has been shown susceptible of much beauty in style, and of elegance and purity in conversation.

Coray spent his life in a foreign and distant land, but he saw the day approaching when the call to arms, sounding from the bosom of the lyceums of Greece, would mingle with the echoes of the cry of vengeance and liberty. 'In spite of his great age,' says the author, 'this venerable patriot wrote night and

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day for his country, urged the multiplication of new colleges, and directed the formation of them in a manner the best suited to extend their light and influence. The colleges of the first rank were then those of Cydonia, Smyrna, Scio, Couroutzesme, Bucharest, Jassy, Jannina, and Athens. All these schools, judiciously organized, were under the direction of skilful professors; but the lyceum of Scio surpassed them all; it had fourteen professors, of whom the best known were Vardalachos, Vamvas, Celepy, Nicolas Piccolo, and Julius David, son of the painter of that name. Already public liberality, on the registers of which was always the name of the generous Varvaky, had endowed the university of Scio with a rich library and a printing press; already many works had seen the light; already were preparations making to establish literary journals; already were realized the hopes of the Sciotes and their fellow countryman Coray, when suddenly the insurrection broke out. Scio disappeared and all was destroyed; the barbarians devastated the richest, most populous, most civilized, and most beautiful of the isles of the Archipelago.' Besides the colleges in Greece, there are other establishments in foreign countries for the education of Greek youth. In Venice, Trieste, Leghorn, Vienna, Odessa, Jassy, and Bucharest, are Greek schools more or less considerable. In Venice are a Greek church, printing establishment, and college; and Spyridion Blandis, one of the professors, is known by his Italian, French, and Modern Greek Dictionary. From very early times similar establishments have existed in Vienna under the control of able men, such as the brothers Capetanaky, Gobdella, Athanasius of Stagira, and several others, well known by their works, and accounted among the first men of letters in the nation. At Jassy a Lancastrian school was founded, and confided to the direction of Cleobulus of Philippopoli. Full of patriotic feelings he afterwards returned to Greece, where he applied himself to the task of extending this mode of instruction. He lately died much regretted at Syra.

It remains for us to say a few words of the Ionian University, first founded in 1807, when France for the second time was assured of the possession of the Seven Isles by the treaty of Tilsit. At that period several French officers of the engineer corps were professors of the physical sciences and mathematics, with whom were united Greek professors to make the system of instruction complete. The vicissitudes of war threw these

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islands by the treaty of Paris into the hands of the English, or what the Greeks averred was ironically called the *protection* of England. The college made no progress under the first Lord High Commissioner, Maitland; but when his successor, Sir Frederic Adam, was appointed in 1823, Lord Guilford, always friendly to the Greeks, was nominated Chancellor of the University by the express interposition of Mr. Canning. From that moment to this it has flourished, and a large number of students has been drawn there by the zeal of Lord Guilford, who took much care to find out and appoint able professors. This generous patron of the arts and sciences has lately died, deeply lamented by all Greece. He bequeathed to the University his library, in which he was at great pains to collect whatever related to modern Greek literature, and on this topic it is the most complete collection of books in existence. The Ionian Isles have produced some eminent literary men, as Foscolo and Mustoxidi, both of Corfu, but who have rather adorned Italian than Greek literature. Count Capo d' Istria, renowned for his diplomatic rank in Russia, and for his present station as President of Greece, is a native of Corfu.

Notwithstanding the din of arms and the ravages of war, the Greeks have not ceased to think of the interests of literature, and the college of Missolonghi, the journals printed and the works published, as well there as at Athens and other places, are testimonies to this fact; but all is to be commenced anew; since professors, colleges, libraries, everything has disappeared and become a prey to the barbarians.

Having thus glanced at some of the chief points in M. Rizo's book, we shall close with a word respecting the author himself. He was born at Constantinople, in 1778, of a Fanariote family distinguished in the ranks of letters and diplomacy. An orphan at four years of age, his education devolved on his uncle Samuel, Archbishop of Ephesus. At the age of twenty he entered the service of Alexander Ypsilanti, and married his grand-daughter. He filled divers stations, and was prime minister to Michael Soutzos, prince of Moldavia, when the revolution broke out. On this occasion he sacrificed all his fortune in the cause of liberty, and after the defeats in the provinces, he retired with his numerous family to Kischneff in Bessarabia. In 1823 he took his two eldest sons to Geneva, where he left them to study military tactics, and went himself to Pisa, in which place he met some of his intimate friends. Thus separ-

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ated from his family and his country, the Muses and his lyre became his only solace; but having suddenly lost his eldest son, and overcome with many other afflictions, he determined at the solicitation of Capo d' Istria to return and rejoin him at Geneva. It was then that he drew up his *Cours de Littérature Grecque Moderne*. Rizo has since accompanied Capo d' Istria into Greece, where he was appointed commissioner of the Isles of the Archipelago.

The reputation of Rizo in Greece is particularly high as a poet. His first attempt was the tragedy of *Aspasia*, an edition of which in the original modern Greek has lately been published in this country. In this edition many errors of the preceding, printed at Vienna and Leipsic have been corrected. Next came his *Polyxenes*, a tragedy in five acts, the plot of which is managed with great art. The comedy *Κοραϊσιακὰ*, or *Patois des Savans*, we have already noticed. The *Κούρκας Ἁρπαγὴ*, or *L' Enlèvement du Dindon*, is a humorous poem, of which three cantos only have appeared. Its object is a general satire upon the faults and follies of the Greek nation. Several other fugitive pieces have been printed at different times. His style is clear, elegant, and harmonious; a fair specimen of which we give in the following ode, *To Himself*, written during his residence at Pisa.

Ποῦ εἶν' ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρὸς, ὅταν κ' ἐγὼ εὐδαίμων,
Ἀπ' αὔρας βοηθούμενος τῶν εὐμενῶν ἀνέμων,
Ἀκύμαντον διέπλεα τὸ πέλαγος τοῦ βίου,
Καὶ εἰς τοὺς κόλπους ἔμβαινα λιμένος γαληνίου!
Λιμὴν ἦτον ὁ οἶκός μου· 'ς ἐκεῖνον καθ' ἡμέραν,
Συμπαίζων μὲ τὰ τέκνα μου, περίπαιζα τὴν σφαίραν·
Συμπάρεδρον 'ς τὴν τράπεζαν λαμβάνων τὴν ὑγείαν,
Τὴν ἀπαλήν των ἔτρεφα κ' ἰ ἀθῴαν ἡλικίαν.

* * * * *

Ἀλλ' ὦ πατρὶς! ὦ ὄνομα παμφίλτατον καὶ θεῖον!
Φεῦ! σὲ προφέρω σήμερον μετὰ πικρῶν δακρύων!
Ὦ γλυκυτάτη μου πατρὶς! τὰ τέκνα σου καθένα
Ὁπόταν σὺ προσκάλεσες, σὺ μ' ἔκραξες κ' ἐμένα.
Τί τέκνον σου εἰλικρινὲς, μ' Ἑλληνικὴν καρδίαν,
Πρὸς τὴν φωνήν σου ἔμελλε νὰ μέν' εἰς ληθαργίαν;

* * * * *

Διέβην γῆν τὴν εὔανδρον τῆς ἄνω Γερμανίας,
Τὴν γῆν τὴν φίλην τῶν τεχνῶν καὶ τῆς φιλοσοφίας·
Διῆλθα τὴν καλλίλημνον γενναίαν Ἑλβετίαν,
Ἑλλήνων εὐεργέτριαν μὲ μεγαλοψυχίαν.

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Ἐθαύμασα κ' ἠγάπησα τὴν σώφρονα Γενέβην,
Καὶ, εὐχηθεὶς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς, τὰς Ἄλπεις ὑπερέβην . . .
Κατέβην ς τὰ ἡλύσια Ἰταλικὰ πεδία,
Φιλομμειδὴς, φιλόξενος μ' ἐδέχθ' ἡ Τυρρηνία.
Τὰς θέσεις τὰς ποιητικὰς, τὰ ἄλση της, τοὺς κήπους,
Ὅπου ἐμβαίνει ὁ χειμὼν μὲ σέβας καὶ βραδύπους,
Τὰ εἶδα· πλὴν, ἀλλοίμονον! παυσίλυπα πρὸς ἄλλους,
Σ ἐμένα λύπας γέννησαν καὶ στεναγμοὺς μεγάλους.

* * * * *

Ἐνίοτε πλανώμενος ς τὴν παραθαλασσίαν,
Μὴν ἔχων ἄλλον σύντροφον παρὰ τὴν ἀθυμίαν,
Ὁπόταν πλοῖα ἔβλεπα τὴν θάλασσαν νὰ σχίζουν,
"Μακάριοι," ἐφώναζα, "ὁπόσοι ἁρμενίζουν!
Πότε, πτηνὰ θαλάσσια, νὰ φέρητε κ' ἐμένα
Μὲ τὰς λευκάς σας πτέρυγας ς τῆς Ὕδρας τὸν λιμένα!"

* * * * *

Πρὸ ἡμερῶν πλῆθος νεφῶν, ἀπὸ ἀτμῶν πληθώρας
Ἐξογκωμένα, ἔβρεχαν σχεδὸν ἑξῆντα ὥρας . . .
Μετὰ τὴν παῦσιν τῆς βροχῆς, ἐγὼ κ' ἕνας μου φίλος,
Ἀργᾶ περιπατούσαμεν ς τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ χεῖλος.
Ἐκεῖ παρετηρήσαμεν, μετὰ φρυγάνων ἄλλων,
Κ' ἕνα παρασυρόμενον κορμὸν δρυὸς μεγάλον.
Στραφεὶς τότε ς τὸν φίλον μου· "Ἴδε," τὸν εἶπα, "κείνην
Τὴν δρῦν, πῶς παραφέρεται ς τὴν ποταμίαν δίνην.
Ἦτον κ' αὐτὴ πυκνόφυλλος, μὲ κλῶνας πολλοὺς πρώην,
Μὲ τὴν σκιάν της δρόσιζε τὴν ὑποκάτω χλόην,
Σ τοὺς κλάδους της λιγύφθογγα πτηνὰ ἐκελαδοῦσαν,
Σ τὴν ῥίζαν της τὰς σύρριγγας ποιμένες ἐφυσοῦσαν·
Ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐξερρίζωσε τῆς καταιγίδος βία,
Σ τὸν Ἄρνον τὴν ἐκρήμνισε, καὶ σύρεθ' ἡ ἀθλία.

"Μὲ τοῦτον, φίλε, τὸν κορμὸν κ' ἐγὼ παρωμοιώθην,
Ἀφ' οὗ ἀπὸ τὸν οἰκόν μου χωρίσθην κ' ἐμονώθην."

Oh! where 's the time—the joyous time—when, in my spirit's glee,
I urged my bark across the breast of life's untroubled sea,
And, hurried onward by the breath of free, propitious gales,
Within the tranquil haven's bosom furled at last my sails?
My home that peaceful haven was—and therein, day by day,
I sported with my children, and I shared each childish play;
I nursed their tender, unstained youth, and, at my humble board,
I drank in health, and cared not what the world might else afford.

* * * * *

But oh my country! name most dear and sacred to my ears!
Alas, I now pronounce thy name with bitter, bitter tears!

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Oh country sweetest to my heart! I hear thy thrilling plea
Appeal, as to thy other children, so alike to me;
And what true-minded child of thine, that bears a Grecian heart,
Will not from torpid slumber, at thy cry of anguish, start?

* * * * *

I traversed Upper Germany, that land of glorious men,
Where Art her cherished altar hath, Philosophy her fane;—
Helvetia's generous soil I trod, the beautiful of lakes,
The high-souled benefactress of the persecuted Greeks;—
I paused, with fond, admiring love, on wise Geneva's sod,
And, with her farewell blessing, then the Alpine summits trod;—
Descending thence, to Italy's Elysian plains I sped,
And hospitable Tuscany in gladness round me spread;
Her scenes so steeped in poetry, her gardens, and her groves,
Where Winter comes but tardily, and timorously moves;—
All these I saw—but oh! what brought to others sweet relief,
In me moved only stifling sighs, and wakened deepest grief.

* * * * *

Sometimes, with wandering steps, I tracked the sea's resounding shore,
With no companion, save the grief I ever with me bore,
And when I saw the gallant ships, that proudly stemmed the sea,
'Oh! happy ye, who sail therein,' cried I, 'thrice happy ye!
When, birds of Ocean, will ye bear me, with your snowy wings,
Where open wide her arms of welcome Hydra's haven flings!'

* * * * *

The multitude of clouds, that first the heavens with beauty spread,
By gathering vapors swelled, a long and drenching torrent shed;
And when the clouds had rolled away, and the tempest's rage was o'er,
I, with a single friend, slow paced along fair Arno's shore;
And there we saw, 'mid many shrubs, an undistinguished throng,
An oak uptorn, of hugest trunk, on the current drift along.
Then turning to my friend, I said, 'Behold that lordly stem
Now shivered, tost by whirling waves, the plaything of the stream!
Once girt by numerous verdant boughs, with leafy honors crowned,
In its broad shade the springing grass refreshing coolness found;
The liquid-throated birds among its spreading branches sang,
And, at its root, the shepherd's pipe, in tuneful murmurs, rang;
But the tempest, in its wasting wrath, the noble tree hath torn,
And to the wild waves given it, of all its glories shorn.

'And now, my friend, in this wave-tost and tempest-shattered tree,
Since I became a homeless exile, view a type of me!'

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In the preface to the work before us, there is a hint that Rizo is now engaged in preparing a history of the Greek Revolution. We hope his new public duties will not defeat nor retard this undertaking. Few men are better informed on this interesting subject, or better qualified to do it justice.

Art. IV.—1. *Analysis of the Egyptian Mythology; to which is subjoined a Critical Examination of the Remains of Egyptian Chronology.* By J. C. Prichard, M. D. London, 1819.

2. *Aperçu des Résultats Historiques de la Découverte de l'Alphabet Hiéroglyphique Egyptien,* par M. Champollion Jeune. Paris, 1827.

3. *Den Gamle Ægyptiske Tidsregning, efter Kilderne paa ny bearbejdet, af* R. Rask, &c. Copenhagen, 1827.

The new light thrown upon the antiquities of Egypt by the hieroglyphic discoveries of Champollion and others has revived the interest of scholars in the history of that wonderful land, where the arts of civilized life, and, above all, the most important of them the gift of letters, were cultivated, whilst Greece and Italy were still covered with forests and filled with wild beasts and savage hordes. These countries were unquestionably indebted to the Egyptians for the elements of their religion and philosophy, however these may have been modified by the peculiar national genius of the Greeks. Still the extravagant claims to antiquity supposed to be set up by the Egyptian priests, and the apparent confusion in the fragmentary history which is all that is left of their early annals previous to the Persian conquest, brought the whole into doubt and discredit with other ancient nations, and have justly excited the suspicion of modern critics. Herodotus, who travelled into Egypt during the reign of Artaxerxes the First, the third in descent from Cambyses, about sixty-five years after the conquest, has furnished us with an authentic list of the native kings of Egypt and a connected chronology before the conquest and up to the reign of Psammeticus the First, from whose time the Greeks had a constant and active intercourse with Egypt. All chronologists agree that the conquest was in 525 B. C. This then is a fixed point of departure, from which we ascend the

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stream of time, and from which Herodotus has set down the succession of kings with an exact computation of years back to the reign of Psammeticus, 670 or 671 B. C. Beyond this there is a long tract of ages filled by the national annalists with successive dynasties until we arrive at a very remote period, when the whole or a part of Egypt was conquered by an invasion of Nomadic hordes from Asia, who were called, or whose kings were called the *Hycksos*. The national tradition represents the country to have been ruled by the Shepherd kings for five centuries until they were expelled by the native Pharaohs of the Diospolite dynasty; and as all the existing monuments and records are said to have been destroyed by these barbarians during their long sway, and the devastating wars which accompanied their establishment and expulsion, all inquiry beyond this period would seem to be hopeless. But the dynasty immediately succeeding the Shepherd kings is reckoned the eighteenth by Manetho, and other national authorities; two or three dynasties are assigned by him to the Shepherd kings; and thus we have left at least fifteen dynasties of princes, who reigned before the period of authentic history commences, and whose existence, if admitted, with the computation of years assigned to them, carries the Egyptian annals back to a period far beyond what the Mosaic chronology has assigned for the renovation of the world after the deluge.

The writer or compiler of the book of Genesis may be considered as an authority, and the earliest foreign authority, for the ancient history of Egypt. The author of that book must have used, for its historical portions, such traditions and documents as were extant in his time respecting the genealogies and family histories of the various tribes of mankind. The labors of Eichhorn and other biblical critics have been directed to analyze and distinguish the different original documents handed down by the patriarchs, and used by Moses in the composition of the Pentateuch; but this analysis has not in the least tended to diminish the credibility of these books as histories of the earliest transactions of mankind, and still less to shake our confidence in such parts of them as ought to be considered as inspired and intended for our religious instruction.

Herodotus, although certainly not free from the credulity, superstition, and other weaknesses of his age and nation, is entirely trustworthy in everything which depended upon his own personal observation, and in the fidelity with which he tells us

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what he derived from the information of others. Our modern travellers to this day admire the graphic fidelity and minute accuracy of his descriptions; and as the bounds of human knowledge become enlarged, many of the most startling facts related by the Father of History have proved to be correct, though his physical explanations of these phenomena may justly provoke a smile from the philosopher of our more enlightened age. He himself distinguishes with great accuracy between the results of his own personal observations and researches, and what he learned from the priests and others; and in respect to the latter sources again, what rested merely in tradition, and what might be considered as supported by the unanimous concurrence of the native authorities. It does not appear that he was acquainted even with the ordinary spoken language of the country, and still less with that of the hieroglyphics with which its monuments were covered. His intercourse with the priests must have been carried on through the medium of the Greek interpreters, the descendants of those who had been settled in Egypt since the time of Psammeticus; and had he been able to read the history of the country inscribed on its temples, obelisks, and other public monuments, he would have had the means of *testing* the accuracy of what the priests of Memphis and Thebes thought fit to tell him. He does not therefore pretend to give even an outline of Egyptian history previous to the time of Psammeticus, but only to mark some of its more prominent points, beginning with *Menes*, who is said to have been the first king, and running over three hundred and thirty others who succeeded, but whom he does not even name, 'among whom are eighteen Ethiopians and one Egyptian woman; all the rest were Egyptians, *men and not Gods*,' (thus indicating that this was subsequent to the mythic age) 'not one of whom had rendered himself celebrated by any great work or remarkable action, except *Moïris*, the last of these.' (Lib. II. § 99—101.) 'Now,' says Herodotus, 'at the time the priests spoke to me thus, there had not elapsed nine hundred years since the death of Moïris.' (§ 13.) As Herodotus journeyed into Egypt in 460 B. C., this fixes the death of Moïris, according to the priests at about 1360 B. C. He declares that he shall pass over these obscure princes to *Sesostris*, who came after them, and, 'according to the priests,' was the first, who, sailing from the Arabian Gulf in long barks, subdued the inhabitants on the shores of the Erythrian Sea, and on his return into Egypt raised

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an immense army, with which he marched by the main land into Asia, subjugating all in his way, and even advancing from Asia into Europe, where he vanquished the Scythians and Thracians. On his return he left a colony of stragglers on the banks of the Phasis, and the people of Colchis must be Egyptians, says Herodotus, because they have a black skin, curled hair, (*μελάγχροές εἰσι καὶ οὐλότριχες,*) practice the rite of circumcision, &c. Sesostris left everywhere remarkable monuments of his victories, some of which the historian had seen in Syria. Escaping from an ambuscade which had been laid for him by his brother on his return to Egypt, this great conqueror employed his numerous captives in constructing immense works for the improvement and embellishment of the country, erecting dykes and cutting canals, &c. To Sesostris succeeded his son Pheron, and after him 'a citizen of Memphis, whom the Greeks call *Proteus* in their language, who entertained Menelaus after the Trojan war.' Then followed Rhampsinit, celebrated for his prodigious wealth, and Cheops, who tasked his people to build the great pyramid of Djizé. He reigned fifty years; and after him succeeded his brother Cephrenes, who reigned fifty-six years, and next Mycerinus, the son of Cheops and Asychis. All these princes built pyramids and other monumental works. Anysis succeeded them, and in his reign Egypt was invaded and subdued by the Ethiopian *Sabaco*, who was master of the country for fifty years, Anysis having fled into the marshes of Lower Egypt, from which he ultimately returned and recovered his crown. He was followed by *Sethon*, a priest of Vulcan or *Ptha*, of whom Herodotus tells a marvellous story, which, as we shall hereafter see, probably relates to the defeat of Sennacherib, the Assyrian king, on the frontiers of Egypt by Tarakos or Tirhakah, the last prince of the twenty-fifth dynasty (of Ethiopians) with whom Sethon was probably co-regent. Herodotus here enters the domain of accurate history, and he says; 'Now I am about to relate what came to pass in Egypt according to the unanimous accounts of the Egyptians and other nations, and I will subjoin those things of which I have been an eye-witness.' He then goes on to relate the period of anarchy which followed the reign of Sethon, when the land was divided among twelve petty kings, who were finally supplanted by Psammeticus.

Diodorus Siculus appears to have copied the imperfect list given by him of the regal successions of Egypt partly from Herodotus and partly from native chronicles.

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The earliest national authority for the ancient chronology of Egypt is *Manetho*, a native of the Sebennytic *nome*, who held the office of high priest and sacred scribe in the temple of Heliopolis during the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. He compiled an Egyptian history or chronicle in three books, containing an account of the succession of kings from the supposed commencement of the monarchy under Menes down to the Macedonian conquest. This work, in its complete form, is believed to have long since perished, and the only fragments of it now remaining are contained in the works of Josephus and Syncellus. The fragment preserved by Josephus in his epistle to Apion is entire, as far as it goes, but comprises only a small portion of the dynasties. The chronological compiler known under the name of *Syncellus* was a monk of Constantinople, who flourished in the reign of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, cotemporary of Charlemagne. The original work of Manetho was lost even in the time of Syncellus, or at least was unknown to him, and all that he has preserved of it was extracted from the compilations of previous collectors, namely, Julius Africanus and Eusebius. The works of Syncellus also contain the substance of another Egyptian document, called the *Old Chronicle*, which terminates with Nectanebo, one of the short dynasty of native kings (the thirtieth), who broke the Persian yoke and liberated their country for a season from this foreign dominion. This appears to be a document, as far as it goes, of the highest authority, and it was probably composed or completed about the time of the last Egyptian monarch, who is mentioned in it, that is, in the second year of the hundred and seventh Olympiad. *Eratosthenes*, a celebrated mathematician and astronomer, who was born 276 B. C., formed by order of Ptolemy Philadelphus, the then reigning sovereign, a list of the succession of Egyptian kings, called the *Laterculus*, which has also been considered one of the essential materials to be used in the adjustment of this chronology. But his work no longer exists in its original form, and all that remains of it was extracted by the diligent compiler Syncellus from the chronology of Apollodorus. This fragment is a mere dry catalogue of thirty-eight kings, who reigned one thousand and thirty-seven years, beginning with Menes, and ending in the year 1524, B. C. according to the computation of Syncellus.

There are some other scattered notices in ancient Greek and Latin writers besides Herodotus and Diodorus, but they are not

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very extensive or important; so that previous to the hieroglyphic discoveries of Champollion and others, we were reduced to these copies of copies of fragments of the works of Egyptian historians and chronologists, without any precise knowledge of what traditions, monuments, or documents they used in the compilation of works, the mutilated remains of which only have been preserved.

All the Egyptian chronicles, like the early histories of most nations claiming a very high antiquity, commence with a mythic period, in which the gods and demi-gods reigned for a long space of time—thousands upon thousands of years. Thus the *Old Chronicle* comprises in the whole the prodigious period of thirty-six thousand, five hundred and twenty-five years; but thirty-four thousand, two hundred and one of these are included in the mythic period before the dynasties of mortal kings commenced. This entire period of thirty-six thousand, five hundred and twenty-five has reference to the fabulous *apocatastasis* or renovation of the zodiac; and therefore the first part of it containing the reigns of the gods and demi-gods may be at once laid out of the question, as they seem rather to be the supplements of an astronomical cycle than chronological dates. After this mythic period follow what are called the fifteen generations of the Cynic Circle, to which succeed fifteen dynasties, with the number of generations or kings belonging to each dynasty and the total number of its years, but without the names of the kings, or any other elucidations. The chronology of Manetho begins, in the same way, with the fabulous reigns of the gods and demi-gods. Then follow the dynasties of mortal kings, beginning with Menes, and specifying them by name. The list of mortal kings begins with fifteen dynasties which are not particularized at all in the *Old Chronicle*, but which evidently correspond to the fifteen generations of the Cynic Circle in that document. To these succeed the subsequent dynasties, which are represented with considerable discrepancies (many of these doubtless arising from the errors of copyists) by Africanus and Eusebius (always professing to transcribe from Manetho) both as to the names of the kings and the number of years they reigned.

The following tabular view will enable the reader to form a comparison between these two schemes, and will be found necessary in order to comprehend the elucidations which we shall attempt to give of this intricate subject.

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Old Chronicle.	Years.	Manetho, according to *Africanus.*	Years.	*Eusebius.*	Years.
1st generation of the Cynic Circle		1st Dynasty, of Thinites	253	1st Dynasty, of Thinites	252
2d generation		2d of Thinites	302	2d of Thinites	297
3d		3d of Memphites	214	3d of Memphites	198
4th		4th of Memphites	274	4th of Memphites	448
5th		5th of Elephantines	248	5th of Elephantines	248
6th		6th of Memphites	303	6th of Memphites	203
7th		7th of Memphites	70 ds.	7th of Memphites	75 ds.
8th		8th of Memphites	146	8th of Memphites	100
9th		9th of Heracleots	409	9th of Heracleots	100
10th		10th of Heracleots	185	10th of Heracleots	185
11th		11th of Diospolites	43	11th of Diospolites	43
12th		12th of Diospolites	160	12th of Diospolites	245
13th		13th of Diospolites	184	13th of Diospolites	453
14th		14th * * *		14th of Xoites	184
15th		15th of Shepherds	284	15th of Diospolites	250
Sum total of the 15 generations	443				
16th Dynasty, of Tanites	190	16th of Shepherds	558	16th of Thebans	196
17th of Memphites	103	17th of Shepherds and Thebans	253	17th of Shepherds	308
18th of Memphites	348	18th of Diospolites	263	18th of Diospolites	348
19th of Diospolites	194	19th of Diospolites	208	19th of Diospolites	194
20th of Diospolites	228	20th of Diospolites	135	20th of Diospolites	178
21st of Tanites	121	21st of Tanites	130	21st of Tanites	130
22d of Tanites	48	22d of Bubastites	120	22d of Bubastites	49
23d of Diospolites	19	23d of Tanites	89	23d of Tanites	44
24th of Saites	44	24th of Saïtes	6	24th of Saïtes	44
25th of Æthiopians	44	25th of Æthiopians	40	25th of Æthiopians	40
26th of Memphites	177	26th of Saïtes	150	26th of Saïtes	168
27th of Persians	124	27th of Persians	124	27th of Persians	120
* * * * *	**	28th of Saïtes	6	28th of Saïtes	6
29th * * *	39	29th of Mendesians	20	29th of Mendesians	21
30th of Tanites	18	30th of Sebannytes	38	30th of Sebannytes	20
	2,146				

Besides the work of Perizonius and other modern chronologers, an elaborate attempt to explain these obscure and contradictory authorities was made by Sir John Marsham, in 1672, in a very learned work on the subject, entitled '*Canon Egyptiacus.*' This writer seeks to reconcile the *Old Chronicle* and that of Manetho, by supposing that Egypt in the earliest ages was divided into several independent states, and that these documents contain several distinct cotemporaneous successions of kings; that the dynasties of Diospolites, for instance, give a succession of princes, who ruled over the Thebaïd, and were coëval with other dynasties of Memphites, Elephantines, and Thinites. This supposition is countenanced by historical anal-

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ogy in the process of the formation of great states in early times, which has usually been produced by the gradual aggregation of lesser tribes into one national body. When we speak of the foundation of a great monarchy as if it were the work of a day, we speak of that which never had any existence in fact. The geographical and natural features of Egypt render it highly improbable that its early history, if it were fully and accurately known, would form an exception to this general law which has uniformly governed the progress of human society. All its traditions concur in proving that Egyptian civilization must have descended the Nile. The glory of Thebes preceded that of Memphis; the capitals and states of Lower Egypt were not founded until a later period, and did not probably begin to flourish until the Delta was effectually redeemed from the waters of the Nile and the sea by means of those prodigious works which were the objects of wonder and admiration to Herodotus and other Greek travellers. Menes may have been a mythological personage, or a mortal king; but he who turned the course of the Nile, and founded the city of Memphis in its ancient bed—who excavated the immense lake to the north and west of that capital—who built a magnificent temple to the god *Phtha*,—could not have been the petty king of a savage tribe, and his reign must have been preceded by other conquerors and legislators. However this may be, still it is evident from the history of Joseph as given by Moses, that the kingdom of which Memphis was the capital, where Joseph appears to have resided, embraced, at the least, the whole of Middle and Lower Egypt, and constituted a compact and powerful monarchy, with a splendid court, the division of castes and hierarchy of ranks as they subsequently existed, together with considerable advancement in learning and all the arts of civilized life. This flourishing state of things was followed by the renewed incursions of the pastoral tribes, the *Hycksos*, from the East. But as the dynasties of Egyptian princes, the native Pharaohs, still continued to reign in Upper Egypt, it would seem probable that a considerable retrenchment ought to be made from the earlier lists when the monarchs of the Thebaïd reigned cotemporaneously with the Shepherd kings in the Delta.

A work was published in 1752, by Dr Jackson, in three quarto volumes, under the title of 'Chronological Antiquities,' in which the author attempts to reconcile the *Old Chronicle* with that of Manetho, and both of them with the Jewish Scriptures, by reducing the Egyptian years to lunar years of a month.

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A more successful and ingenious endeavor to estimate the chronology of Egypt is that contained in the recent treatise of Dr Prichard on Egyptian mythology. The hypothesis assumed by him supposes that Manetho derived his information from the sacred registers kept in the Egyptian temples in the different *nomes* or provinces, some at Memphis, some at Diospolis and elsewhere. Here is an obvious source of discrepancy in documents compiled by different historians or annalists, whose materials were thus drawn from various sources. Memphis was for some time subject to the yoke of the *Hycksos*, whilst Diospolis or Eliphantine was occasionally under the sway of the Ethiopians. Hence great variations might arise in the successions of kings at such distant places, whilst, as it often happens in the history of the East, usurpers, from being mere governors of provinces, *nomarchs*, or satraps, would assume the ensigns and substantial prerogatives of royalty. Their names might be interpolated into the regular lists, and even in the names of the legitimate monarchs great discrepancies would occur from the variety of surnames and high-sounding titles given to the same sovereigns. In short, the sources of confusion were abundant, so that although Memphis and Diospolis were in general subject to the Pharaohs, whose sceptre extended over the rest of Egypt, yet the series of kings as exhibited in the sacred registers of Thebes might differ materially from that of the Memphite records. Syncellus remarks that Manetho must have had before him the *Old Chronicle* when he undertook to compile his chronological table, which he modelled upon the plan of that document. The Old Chronicle professedly contains thirty dynasties; but the first half of that number consists, as we have seen, of fifteen generations of the Cynic Circle. With the view of supplying this apparent chasm or imperfection in the series, Manetho probably filled up the first fifteen places with dynasties under similar titles to those which are comprised in the remainder of the table. For the purpose of obtaining materials to supply these fifteen lists, he collected the old records from the different nomes, and thus formed dynasties of Memphite kings from the registers of Memphis, and of Diospolitan from those of Thebes. That the first fifteen dynasties of Manetho were constructed in this manner is supposed to be proved by internal evidence drawn from a minute comparison which Dr Prichard has instituted of these lists with those of the Old Chronicle and Eratosthenes, which discloses the most remarkable coincidences of names and repetitions of his-

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torical facts inexplicable on any other hypothesis. Thus the name *Sesostris* is found as the third king of the twelfth dynasty, in the extracts from Manetho by Eusebius, with the same historical elucidations which are contained in the fragment of Manetho preserved by Josephus, and the same circumstances which are attributed to that conqueror by Herodotus and Diodorus. But he is generally supposed to be the same with the remarkable king *Sethos*, or *Sethosis*, the son of Amenophis the Third, and the founder of the nineteenth dynasty; and Dr Prichard infers that he has been thus transposed and thrown back to an era far more remote than the Greek authorities seem to place him.

The work of Professor Rask, the title of which is quoted at the head of this article, is principally founded upon that of Prichard; but the learned Dane has corrected many of the errors and inconsistencies of that author, who often wanders from one authority to another, sometimes following Eusebius, sometimes Africanus, and at others Eratosthenes, without sufficient reasons for preferring one to another. Professor Rask, on the contrary, has endeavored to reconcile the *Old Chronicle* to Eusebius, because the Old Chronicle appears to him to be entitled to the highest credit and Syncellus to scarcely any; so that he has laid that chronicle at the foundation as to the extent and number of reigns in every dynasty and period, and applied to other sources merely to supply the names and years of the particular kings. Hence, though the difference between his computations and those of Prichard is but small at the outset, differing only a single year in the commencement of the reign of Psammeticus the First, he hardly agrees with that writer in any number throughout, and at last arrives at a very different result in respect to some of the principal epochs of the most ancient Egyptian history. He has also made great use of the *Paros Chronicle*, or the Arundel marbles, which Prichard has entirely neglected, but which carries back the Grecian chronology with certainty almost as far as the Hebrew, and of course is of the greatest utility and importance in determining its synchronisms with that of Egypt.

The Egyptian chronicles have been somewhat elucidated, and their authority has received great confirmation from the recent discoveries of Champollion and others respecting the nature of the characters with which the public monuments of Egypt are covered, and in which the most ancient manuscripts

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of that country are written. So long as the mistaken notion prevailed that these characters consisted of merely symbolical signs of ideas, and not the signs of sounds also, every effort to penetrate the secrets of this mysterious language proved utterly vain and fruitless. Yet it seems strange that the remarkable passage in Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stromat.* V. 657.) should have been so long overlooked, in which he clearly describes the different modes of writing practised by the Egyptians, dividing them into the epistolographic, the hieratic, and hieroglyphic; and subdividing the last into, 1. Hieroglyphics representing the objects by letters, κυριολογικὴ διὰ τῶν πρώτων στοιχείων; and, 2. Hieroglyphics representing the objects by symbolical signs, συμβολική. This last sort of hieroglyphics he again divides into three species; first, that representing the objects by proper imitation, κυριολογικὴ κατὰ μίμησιν; second, that representing them tropically, τροπικῶς γράφεται; third, that representing them by means of certain enigmatical allegories, κατά τινας αἰνιγμούς. M. Champollion has accordingly shown that there were three different species of writing used among the Egyptians from very early times; first, the common writing used in the ordinary transactions of life, which he calls, after Herodotus, *demotic;* secondly, the sacerdotal writing, called *hieratic;* and, thirdly, the hieroglyphic, combined of characters *symbolical* and *figurative*, or representative of ideas, and *phonetic*, or those representative of the sounds of letters. By means of this great discovery, he has been able to read upon the still existing monuments of Egypt—its palaces, temples, obelisks, and tombs,—the names and attributes of the sovereigns of Egypt, from the native Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty, to the Ptolemies and the Roman emperors, expressed in characters representing the sounds of the Egyptian, Ethiopian, Persian, Greek, and Roman alphabetical letters of the different periods. The same means have rendered intelligible other inscriptions on the public and private monuments of Egypt, as well as various public and private writings on papyrus in the demotic, hieratic, and hieroglyphic characters, referring to the epoch of each sovereign in whose reign they were written, and some of them unquestionably more than three thousand years old. There has also been recently found in the museum at Turin a papyrus manuscript of the time of the Ptolemies, which contains in hieratic characters an abridgment of the Egyptian chronicles with the successions of kings, and

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which may perhaps prove to be one of the documents, from which Manetho compiled his history.

The hieroglyphical proper name of the Persian conqueror of Egypt, Cambyses, *(Kamboth)* has been found in an inscription upon the statue of a Saïte priest in the museum of the Vatican. The name of his immediate successor, Darius, *(Ntarionsch)* is sculptured upon the great temple of the Oasis *El-Khardjéh*, and there are several private contracts and grants of land dated in his reign in the museums of Paris and Turin. That of Xerxes has also been discovered by M. Champollion upon a beautiful vase of oriental alabaster in the collection of the king of France. This name is formed of seven phonetic hieroglyphic characters, rendering the true Persian name of this monarch, *Khschéarscha.* This reading is confirmed by another inscription on the same vase in the arrow-headed character of the ancient Persian language, as seen in the inscriptions upon the ruins of Persepolis, in which is found the name of *Khschéarscha*, with the epithet *Iéré*, which is also repeated in the hieroglyphic legend in five phonetic characters forming a word which may be pronounced *Iérina*, or *Iriéno*, which in the Zend signifies *Iranian*, that is, Persian, the well known ancient name of Persia being *Iran.* The name of Artaxerxes *(Artakhschèssch,)* is also to be found upon several Egyptian monuments, together with the names of the patriot Pharaohs, who struggled during a period of forty years to shake off the Persian yoke rendered hateful to the natives by religious persecution as well as civil oppression.

We have already stated that the epoch of the conquest of Egypt by the Persians under Cambyses, 525, B. C., is a well ascertained date in which all chronologers are agreed, and serves as a fixed point from which to ascertain other dates more remote from the acknowledged region of authentic history. The twenty-sixth Egyptian dynasty, the last before the Persian conquest, commenced in 702, B. C., under *Ammeris*, and comprised a succession of ten monarchs including *Psamminit*, the infant successor of Amasis or Amósis. This succession is brought into a tabular form by Professor Rask as follows;

Names.	*Years.*	*B. C.*
Ammeris	11	702
Stephinatés	7	691
Nekepsós	6	684

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Nechaó the First	8	678
Psammeticus	54	670
Nechaó the Second	16	616
Psammúthis	6	600
Vaphris	25	594
Amósis	44	569
Psamminit	½	525

All the Pharaohs of this dynasty, with the exception of the last, the unfortunate prince Psamminit, have left splendid monuments of their munificent patronage of the arts. The beautiful obelisk of Monte Citorio at Rome, and the colossal columns in the first court of the palace of Karnack at Thebes, attest the munificence of Psammeticus the First (*Psamétèk*), whose long reign was spent in quelling the internal disorders consequent upon the anarchy which had followed the Ethiopian dominion, and in opening a liberal intercourse with other nations. Nechao the Second, who is the same alluded to by Herodotus under the name of *Nechos*, is the Pharaoh *Nechoh*, who defeated and slew Josiah the king of Judah, at the battle of Megiddo, or Magdolum, after which he gained possession of Jerusalem, and raised Jehoiakim to the vacant throne. (2 Kings, xxiii. and 2 Chron. xxxv.) His legend is to be read in hieroglyphic inscriptions upon several monuments of Upper Egypt. Edifices erected by Psammúthis, or Psammeticus the Second, are to be found in the island of Philæ. Several portions of the buildings found in the same sacred island, as well as the obelisk of Minerva at Rome, date from the reign of his successor Vaphris, Apriés, or Ouaphris. He is the same who is mentioned in the Jewish Scriptues under the name of *Hophra*, and is the Pharaoh, upon whose assistance Zedekiah the last king of Judah relying, revolted against Nebuchadnezzar. Jerusalem was destroyed by that Assyrian monarch in 588, B. C., which date falls within the reign of Vaphris as computed by Herodotus and Manetho. The scattered fragments of sculpture found in the ruins of Saïs bear the royal legend of Amósis, or Amasis, who also dedicated to the goddess *Néith*, the Egyptian Minerva, the monolithic chapel of rose-colored granite, now in the museum of the Louvre.

The concurrence of historical testimonies establishes the fact of the conquest of Egypt by the Ethiopians at a period not very long preceding the reign of Psammeticus the First. The

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dynasty of these conquerors is reckoned the twenty-fifth. The Jewish Scriptures prove that Egypt was about this period in possession of the Ethiopians, for we read in them that Sennacherib the Assyrian carried on war with the Ethiopian king called *Tirhakah* (2 Kings, xix. 9.), and there is no probable way in which their arms could come in contact, unless the latter had conquered Egypt and sought to subdue Palestine. The last prince of the Ethiopian dynasty was *Tarakos*, and his reign, if we compute upwards from the well ascertained date of the accession of Psammeticus the First (670, B. C.), coincides with the epoch assigned in the Scriptures to Tirhakah. This war was signalized by the miraculous deliverance of Jerusalem from the meditated attack of the Assyrian king, which is probably the same event alluded to by Herodotus in the account which he gives of the defeat of Sennacherib on the frontiers of Egypt. It is true, he relates that this happened during the reign of an Egyptian prince called *Sethon*, a priest of Vulcan, who was hated by the military caste, and being deserted by his army was miraculously delivered by his god. It is probable that from motives of policy this high-priest was suffered to play the nominal part of king under the Ethiopians, whose sway over Egypt was extremely mild; but there can be scarcely a doubt that he was cotemporary with Tarakos. The predecessor of this monarch was Sevéchos, who seems to be the same sovereign mentioned in Scripture by the name of *So*, with whom Hosea king of Israel entered into a secret alliance against the Assyrians, in consequence of which the latter besieged Samaria and carried the ten tribes of Israel into captivity. Calculations derived from these synchronisms carry back the conquest of Egypt by the Ethiopians to 746, B. C., and the twenty-fifth dynasty will stand thus;

Names.	*Years.*	*B. C.*
Sabbakón	12	746
Sevéchos	12	734
Tarakos	20	722

The mildness of the Egyptian government under this foreign dynasty, in comparison with the oppression the nation afterwards suffered from the Persian yoke, must be attributed to the similarity of the language, institutions, and manners of the Ethiopians and Egyptians. The researches of Calliaud and other recent travellers in Wulia have shown that the monuments of the ancient Meroë are covered with the same hieroglyphics,

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are constructed in the same taste, and indicate the same progress in letters, arts, and manners as those of Egypt. A great number of the monuments still existing in Ethiopia and Upper Egypt are inscribed with the legends of the three kings of this dynasty, in phonetic hieroglyphics, under the names of *Schaback, Sévekôthph, and Tahrak.* The ruins of the fine edifice of Soleb, upon the banks of the Nile about one hundred leagues south of Philæ, the extreme southern frontier of Egypt, are the most remote monuments in that direction which bear the royal legends of the native Pharaohs. But still further south ascending the Nile into the heart of the ancient Ethiopia, more than eight degrees from the tropic of Cancer, there are scattered over the space of more than one hundred leagues the ruins of colossal monuments in the same style and covered with the same mysterious characters as those of Egypt and Nubia, but presenting names and royal legends varying from those of the former countries, thus indicating the existence in a very remote period of antiquity of a great civilized empire in that quarter independent of the kingdoms of Thebes and Memphis, but whose inhabitants evidently belonged to the same family of mankind established from the earliest times in the northeast of Africa and having scarcely anything in common with the Asiatic tribes. This family had also planted its colonies in the various Oases, or islands in the desert, to the south and west of Egypt, all of which present the vestiges of the same peculiar race of men.

The four dynasties, preceding the Ethiopian conquest, are the twenty-first, twenty-second, twenty-third, and twenty-fourth. As the variations between Dr Prichard and Professor Rask, and the ancient authorities they have respectively followed, here begin to be most conspicuous, we shall exhibit them in parallel columns as follows :

Twenty-first Dynasty, (*of* Tanites.)

Prichard.			Rask.		
Names.	*Years.*	*B. C.*	*Names.*	*Years.*	*B. C.*
Smendes	26	1012	Smendes	26	978
Psousennes I.	41		Amenopthis	9	952
Nephercheres	4		Osorchor	6	943
Amenopthis	9		Psinachés	9	937
Osorchor	6		Psúsennés II.	50	928
Psinaches	6		Sesenchósis	21	878
Psousennes II.	35				
Total	130		Total	121	

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	Twenty second Dynasty, (*of* Boubastites.)			
Sesonchosis	21	Osóróth (Osórthón I.)	15	878
Osorthon I.	15	Takellóthis	13	842
Takellothis	13	Petubastés	20	829
Total	49	Total	48	
	Twenty-third Dynasty, (*of* Tanites.)			
Potonbastes	25	Osorchó (Osórthón II.)	9	809
Osorthon II.	9	Psammús	10	800
Psammos	9			
Total	44	Total	19	
	Twenty-fourth Dynasty, (Saïte.)			
Bocchoris	44	Bocchóris	44	790
Total	267	Total	232	

The founder of the twenty-first dynasty, *Smendes*, is supposed by Dr Prichard, after Syncellus, to be the Shishak, or Súsakim, who is mentioned in Scripture (1 Kings, xiv, xv, and 2 Chron. xii,) as having invaded Palestine and sacked Jerusalem in the fifth year of the reign of Rehoboam, who ascended the throne of David thirty-six years after the foundation of Solomon's temple. By computing upwards from the destruction of the temple by Nebuchadnezzar, which is ascertained to have happened in 588, B. C., and reckoning the successive reigns of the kings of Judah and Israel, Archbishop Usher has calculated the interval between the foundation and the destruction of the temple at four hundred and twenty-four years, and thus dates its building in 1012, B. C. To this period Dr Hales has added fifteen years, on grounds which seem to be solid, and thus the building of the temple is dated in 1027, B. C. It results from these dates that the invasion of Judea and sack of Jerusalem by Shishak must have happened in 985, B. C. But Professor Rask, without contesting this chronology, has proved that the *Shishak* mentioned in Scripture is the Egyptian king Sesyachoris or Psúsennés the First, who was doubtless a cotemporary of Rehoboam; and as he reigned from 1028 to 982, B. C., the sack of Jerusalem occurred during his reign. According to Professor Rask, the name of this monarch, together with that of Nephercheres, ought to be transferred from the twenty-first to the twentieth dynasty, and of course their reigns must be subtracted from 1012, B. C.,

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which Dr Prichard assigns as the commencement of the twenty-first. Besides, there is a difference in their respective computations of the dynasties interjacent between this and the last preceding the Persian conquest, as Prichard places the beginning of the twenty-sixth dynasty at 701, B. C. instead of 702,

twenty-fifth " 745, " 746,
twenty-fourth " 789, " 790,

which number, 701, however, is without the least foundation in his own calculation, though the basis of his whole chronology; for it is established (page 57, note) by a strange inadvertency in this manner; 'Now since 33+671=701, the end of the reign of Tarakos and of the Ethiopian dynasty happened in the year B. C. 701, and their accession in 721.' In the twenty-third dynasty, he has followed closely Eusebius and Syncellus, neglecting the authority of the *Old Chronicle*, to which, as already mentioned, Professor Rask has adhered throughout.

M. Champollion supposes Sesonchósis to have been the Shishak or Súsakim of Scripture. But his reign cannot possibly be made to synchronize with that of Rehoboam upon any rational and approved scheme of chronology. That Osoróth, or Osórthón the First, was the son as well as successor of Sesonchósis, appears from a hieroglyphic manuscript on papyrus engraved in the work of M. Denon (*Voyage dans la Haute et Basse Egypte*, pl. 137). It is one of those funerary tablets filled with figures and hieroglyphic legends, forming a sort of picture-writing carelessly executed in point of art, and commemorative of the decease, obsequies, and apotheosis of the kings and other illustrious personages of Egypt. In this tablet, an embalmed body or mummy is received in the outstretched arms of the creative god Ptha, who is characterized by a scarabæus placed upon his head. This mummy again appears on the opposite side of the scroll, lying on a sort of sarcophagus, upon which reposes the symbolical image of a *male* soul (the hawk with a human head bearded); by its side is a sacred ensign, and one of those long and broad fans borne in token of supremacy before gods and kings as figured in Egyptian bas-reliefs. Near it sits couchant upon a rich pedestal the figure of a black jackal, the usual emblem of the god Anubis, one of the ministers of his father Osiris in the Egyptian Tartarus. On the right is the image of the god Amon-Rê, represented standing in a barque. Above this groupe is a hieroglyphic legend which may be rendered as follows;

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'*The pure by* AMON-RE, *King of the Gods,*

'OSORKON, *son of* SHESCHONK, *king, vivifier, approved by* ANEBÔ' [Anubis.]

This legend is arranged so that the column containing the name of the god Amon-Rê, is placed above the head of that deity, and the column containing the head of the god Anubis is above the head of the jackal, by which he is typified. On the lower part of the same papyrus the mummy of the king Osorkon is again seen lying upon a barque, above which terminates a long hieroglyphic legend in perpendicular columns as follows:

'*The purified by* AMON-RE, *king of the Gods,* OSORKON, *defunct, son of the purified by Amon-Rê, king of the gods,* SCHESCHONK, *defunct king,*

'*born of the Lord of the World, the cherished of Amon,* OSORKON, *vivifier like to the Sun for ever.*'

M. Champollion has also read upon various monuments the royal legends of Petubastés, *Ptahfteh;* of his son and successor Osórthón the Second, *Osortasen;* and of the son and successor of this last, Psammus, *Psjam.* The name, surname, and titles of Osórthón the First, the son of Sesenchosis, are also engraved upon a beautiful vase of oriental alabaster, which from its hieroglyphic inscription appears to have been consecrated by this Pharaoh, to the god 'Sovereign of the Regions of the World, the Supreme Lord, Amon-Rê.' The history of this vase is very curious. It was transported from Egypt to Rome, where an illustrious member of the Claudian family converted it into his funeral urn. The epitaph of this patrician is engraved in Latin letters opposite to the hieroglyphic dedication of the Egyptian monarch. It is now in the royal museum of France.

The twentieth dynasty (of Diospolites) is entirely lost in the extracts of Africanus and Eusebius from the original of Manetho, and the number of years assigned to the collective reigns of these compilers cannot be verified with absolute certainty. Dr Prichard, following Africanus, assigns them one hundred and seventy-eight years, and thus fixes the accession of the dynasty at 1147, B. C. This number one hundred and seventy-eight years is right, but (according to Professor Rask) does not comprehend the whole dynasty; the two last kings, Sesynchoris or Psúsennés the First, and Nephercherés, having been transposed by some mistake in Africanus and placed in the twenty-first dynasty, from which he has recalled them

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as already mentioned, and vindicated their title to be placed in the twentieth dynasty; first, by the extent of their reigns, fifty years, which added to one hundred and seventy-eight makes two hundred and twenty-eight, the number in the Old Chronicle; secondly, because the first of them, Sesynchoris or Psúsennés, coincides in name and time with the *Súsakim* of the Septuagint version, which is not the case with Smendes. Professor Rask thus fixes the duration of this dynasty at two hundred and twenty-eight years, and consequently dates its commencement in 1206, B. C. This is somewhere near the epoch of the war of Troy, according to the general concurrence of the best chronological authorities, and it becomes an object of great interest to determine with accuracy so important a synchronism. Dr Prichard assumes the old calculation of Eratosthenes, which rests on the authority of the Olympiad chronology, and fixes the fall of Troy at 1183, B. C. This is more secure ground (according to this writer) than any of the conjectural computations founded on the supposed average length of regal successions, the fallacy of which method has been exposed by Dr Musgrave in his 'Dissertations on the Chronology of the Olympiad.' The line of English kings from William the Conqueror to George the Third, gives us twenty-three generations, and the period elapsed from the Norman conquest in 1066 to 1820, is seven hundred and fifty-four years, which number divided by twenty-three gives about thirty-two years and a half for each generation. This shows that the length of reigns in a regular lineal succession may be nearly as long as the usually assigned average of generations, namely, three to a century. If we take an average of the reigns of the kings of France from the time of Henry the Fourth, we shall find that they contained upwards of forty years one with another. The number of reigns of the Roman emperors from Augustus Cæsar to Augustulus was sixty-two; the latter prince fell in the year 456; and calculating on the average above deduced, Augustus must have begun his reign upwards of two thousand years before the Christian era! And even if we adopt Sir Isaac Newton's average of 20 years, we shall place this emperor a thousand years before his real time.

Professor Rask, on the other hand, whilst he concedes the fallacy of chronological computations derived from averages of reigns, insists that as we are left in entire ignorance of the grounds on which Eratosthenes placed the fall of Troy at an

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epoch answering to the year 1183 before the Christian era, it is safer to rely upon the authority of the Arundel marbles, or Paros Chronicle, which determines this great event precisely on the twenty-fourth day of the month Thargelion, in the nine hundred and forty-fifth year before Diognetes was archon in Athens, which was 264, B. C. Thus, Troy fell, 945+264= 1209, B. C., about the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth Egyptian dynasty.

These two dynasties are arranged by Professor Rask as follows;

The nineteenth Dynasty (*of* Diospolites.)

Names.	*Years.*	*B. C.*
Sethós	55	1400
Rapsés	66	1345
Ammenepthés	40	1279
Ammenemmés	26	1239
Thúóris	7	1213
Total	214	

The twentieth Dynasty, (*of* Diospolites.)

Names.	*Years.*	*B. C.*
Ketés (Próteus)	20	1206
Rampsinit (Remphis)	9	1186
Cheops (Chembés)	50	1177
Chephrén (Chabryis)	56	1127
Mykerinos	27	1074
Ammenemés (Asychis)	16	1044
Psúsennés the First	46	1028
Nephercherés	4	982
Total	228	

Dr Prichard considers Thúóris, the last king of the nineteenth dynasty, as the prince who, according to Homer, entertained Menelaus, (Odyss. iv. 126,) and who is called *Polybus* by the poet and *Proteus* by Herodotus, and that Troy was taken during the reign of his second antecessor Rameses, who was the fourth king of the nineteenth dynasty according to Africanus. But Professor Rask has shown by a careful comparison of the authorities that Thuoris reigned in the time of the Trojan war, that Ketes or Proteus was the prince who entertained Menelaus during his wandering after the siege, and that the Rameses of Africanus is by a mistake transposed hither from the eighteenth dynasty, where he is wanting in Africanus. Polybus and Proteus are confounded by Herodo-

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tus, but rightly distinguished by Homer. Now the reign of Thuoris falls between 1213 and 1206. Of course the conquest of Troy (1209) happened during his reign, according to Manetho, ἐφ' ὃ τὸ Ἴλιον ἑάλω, and it was his successor Ketes or Proteus whom Menelaus visited on his return during the eight years of his wandering.

The names, order of succession, and length of the reigns of the first five kings of the twentieth dynasty, which are wanting in all the Egyptian documents, are obtained from Herodotus and Diodorus. The sixth king Ammenemés is the same with the Asychis of Herodotus, and is mentioned by Manetho at the end of his first *tome* in the extracts of Africanus and Eusebius, as if (but evidently by mistake) in connexion with the eleventh dynasty of that author. The two last kings, Psúsennés the First and Nephercheres are restored to this dynasty from the twenty-first, upon grounds which have already been mentioned.

The nineteenth dynasty is established by the general concurrence of authorities for the names of the kings, except Ramesés, who has been by mistake transferred hither from the eighteenth, where he properly belongs according to Manetho (apud Josephum), and for the sum total of the years of all the reigns by the *Old Chronicle*, with which agrees Eusebius.

The eighteenth dynasty (of Diospolites) is arranged by Professor Rask from the concurrent authority of written documents and monuments actually existing at the present time. Supposing him to have accurately determined the synchronism of the Trojan war with the Egyptian annals, we have here a fixed point from which we can ascertain in a satisfactory manner the termination of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth dynasty, in the reign of the remarkable king *Sethos*, who has generally been taken for the famous *Sesostris*. According to this computation he began to reign about two centuries before the Trojan war, that is, about one thousand four hundred years before the Christian æra; and counting upwards from this date we may calculate with tolerable accuracy the different epochs of the preceding dynasty which stands as follows;

The Eighteenth Dynasty, (*of* Diospolites.)

Names.	*Years.*	*B. C.*
Amósis (Tethmósis)	25	1748
Chebrón	13	1723
Amenóphis I.	21	1710

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Amersis	22	1689
Mephrés	13	1667
Misphragmúthósis	26	1654
Túthmósis	9	1628
Amenóphis II. (Memnon)	31	1619
Horós	16	1588
Akencherés (Athóris)	6	1560
Chencherés (Chebrés)	12	1554
Acherrés	12	1542
Cherrés	14	1530
Armais (Danaus)	5	1516
Ramessés I. (Egyptus)	5	1511
Armessés (Ramessés II.)	63	1506
Amenóphis III. (Masis)	43	1443
Total	348	

The most important synchronism of Grecian with Egyptian history previous to the Trojan war, is the emigration of Danaus, which is generally reckoned to have happened about one thousand five hundred years before the Christian æra, and which Professor Rask has fixed precisely at 1511, B. C., upon 'the greatest of all authorities from antiquity, the Paros marble chronicle, which tells us, that from the time of the arrival in Greece of a *πεντηκόντορος*, and the building of the temple of Rhodes by the daughters of Danaus, until Diognetes was archon at Athens, elapsed one thousand two hundred and forty-seven years. Now Diognetes was Archon 264, B. C. Of course, 264+1247=1511, which is the year when Danaus emigrated from Egypt into Greece.' He also establishes the previous emigration of Cecrops in 1588, B. C. under the ninth Pharaoh of the eighteenth dynasty, Horós or Hôr; and concurs with Dr Prichard in determining the Exodus of the Israelites in 1619, B. C. The computation of this last mentioned date depends upon the duration we assign to the period which elapsed between the foundation of the Temple at Jerusalem and the Exodus. Archbishop Usher's calcution of this period, which is supported by the present Hebrew text, assigns to it four hundred and eighty years, which is inconsistent with the tenor of the previous Jewish history. Josephus states it at five hundred and ninety-two years, which calculation seems to have been generally adopted by the learned among the Jews about the time of the Christian æra, and St. Paul appears to have followed it in the sketch of the history of Israel

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in Acts xiii. 17—22. It is also adopted by Michaëlis and other learned modern critics; and as we have already seen, the foundation of the Temple is dated 1027, B. C.
Add for the interval abovementioned, 592,

We find the Exodus in 1619, in the reign of Amenóphis the Second (Memnon), the eighth Pharaoh of the eighteenth dynasty.

The period between Abraham's migration into Egypt and the Exodus of Moses which is said (Exod. xii. 40—41.) to have comprehended four hundred and thirty years, Professor Rask takes for two hundred and fifteen years, supposing the year of twelve months to have been first introduced by Moses, and that before his time, from Abraham down, the year merely consisted of six months. This hypothesis he corroborates, first, by the number of generations, which, including Abraham and Moses, are seven; as $7\times33=231$, or $7\times31=217$; secondly, by an expression of Manetho, that 'the Shepherd kings and their posterity, held Egypt under their sway about five hundred and eleven years.' This posterity of the Shepherds or outcast Egyptians, he takes to be the followers of Cecrops, who obtained assistance from the Israelites, so that the number of 511 years=255 twelvemonths, is composed of the two hundred and fifteen years during which Israel sojourned in Egypt, and the forty years in which they were wandering in the desert and assisting the Cecropides in the war with the Egyptians. Dr Prichard has taken both the relations of the conquest of Egypt by the Shepherd kings by Manetho (apud Josephum) as belonging to the same event, and consequently has not observed the synchronism with Cecrops, nor explained the number five hundred and eleven in any way, but taken them to be natural years, and thus placed the first entrance of the Shepherd tribes into Egypt 2071, B. C.; whereas Professor Rask adding two hundred and fifteen to one thousand six hundred and nineteen, places the first arrival of Abraham in 1834, B. C. The learned Michaëlis, who agrees with Hales, Prichard, and Rask in fixing the epoch of the Exodus at 1619, takes the number four hundred and thirty (in Exodus, xii. 40.) not only for ordinary years of twelve months, but to have elapsed not between Abraham and the Exodus, but merely between Jacob's arrival in Egypt and the Exodus, which is about one hundred years to each generation! Professor Rask

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has exposed this strange hypothesis as an absurdity contrary to reason and human nature, and in a treatise upon the Hebrew chronology lately read by him before the Royal Society of Sciences at Copenhagen, he has adduced some additional arguments of great weight in support of his own hypothesis, that the year at this period consisted of six months only, especially from incidents in the life of Sarah and others of the patriarchal age, as related in Scripture.

Beyond the epoch of the migration of Abraham the history of Egypt presents no point of contact with the annals of any other nation. The darkness and obscurity of the mythic age begin to hang over it, and our curiosity is baffled by the confusion of the documentary history and the want of monumental data to supply its place. But even subsequent to this period there are many historical facts so blended with allegory and fable as to render it difficult to distinguish truth from falsehood. We have already mentioned that *Sethos*, the first Pharaoh of the nineteenth dynasty has commonly been taken for the *Sesostris* of the Greeks. But Professor Rask concurs with Count Potocki (*Dynasties du Second Livre de Manéthon*) in throwing the epoch of this celebrated conqueror farther back, and identifying him with *Sesóchris*, who began to reign about 1814, B. C., soon after the migration of Abraham into Egypt. He considers that the exploits which are recorded of this Egyptian monarch become much more credible when they are assigned to a period before the establishment of the Israelites in Judea and the foundation of the great monarchies of Asia, since there is nowhere any mention of his encountering these powerful states in his Asiatic expedition, which is said to have extended to the borders of the Euxine. But to others the existence of a great monarch, who directed the united resources of Egypt in a military expedition of such importance would seem to be assigned with more probability to a period subsequent to the expulsion of the *Hyksos*, when the power of the monarchy became consolidated, and the military genius of the nation had been formed in these wars with the barbarians of the desert. The hieroglyphic legend, which is most frequently found inscribed on the monuments of Egypt and Nubia from the second cataract of the Nile to the shores of the Mediterranean, is that of a monarch, whose proper name when expressed in alphabetical letters equivalent to the phonetic hieroglyphics used in these inscriptions, is *Ramses*. The same royal legend is also to be

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read in a bilingual inscription, in hieroglyphic and arrow headed characters, near the ancient Berytus in Syria. The image of the Pharaoh, to whom this so often repeated legend belongs, is sculptured in bas-reliefs representing battles, sieges, military orations and marches, and the passages of rivers; he is the object of the homage of vanquished nations, whose complexion and dress are different from those of the Egyptians figured on the same monuments; he is seen receiving gifts peculiar to the interior of Africa, such as camelopards, ostriches, and different species of apes and antelopes; he lavished his immense power and wealth, apparently the fruit of foreign conquests, in erecting magnificent temples and palaces, adorned with sculptures and inscribed with his name, epithets, and exploits. We are informed by Tacitus that when Germanicus ascended the Nile and visited the gigantic remains of the once mighty Thebes, he interrogated the priests upon the meaning of the hieroglyphic inscriptions with which they were covered, by whom he was told that they contained an account of the ancient state of Egypt; its revenues and military forces, and related especially to the conquest of Lybia, Ethiopia, Syria, and a great part of Asia by one of their ancient kings called *Rhamses*. (Tac. Annal. Lib. II. c. 60.) But there are several princes of this name mentioned in the Egyptian chronicles and monuments. The first of these is Ῥαμεσῆς or Ἁρμεσῆς, Ramses the First (Egyptos), the sixteenth Pharaoh of the eighteenth dynasty, who has sometimes been confounded with Sesostris. But he reigned only five years, and we are expressly told by Diodorus, (what indeed is extremely probable in itself) that the great expedition of Sesostris occupied nine years—*συντελέσας τὴν στρατείαν ἐν ἔτεσιν ἐννέα.* The next prince of the same name was the son and successor of the last mentioned Ῥαμεσῆς-Μειάμουν, who reigned sixty-three years; but M. Champollion has shown that his legend is entirely different from that of the warrior-prince now in question. He concludes that it must be referred to Σέθως or Σέθωσις, the first Pharaoh of the nineteenth dynasty, and the son of Amenophis the Third, the last of the eighteenth. In support of this hypothesis, he relies upon the authority of Manetho (apud Josephum contra Apion.), who in relating the second invasion of Egypt by the pastoral tribes during the reign of Amenophis the Third, states that this king, when he set off to encounter the enemy, confided to a faithful friend his son *Sethos*, who also bore the name of

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Ramesses—*Τὸν δὲ υἱὸν ΣΕ'ΘΩΝ, τὸν καὶ 'ΡΑΜΕ'ΣΣΗΝ* * * * *ὠνομασμένον*; and he also tells how the latter afterwards ascended the throne of Egypt and carried his victorious arms into Asia. From the similarity of the accounts which are given of the character and adventures of Sesostris by the Greek historians, with what is told of Sethos by Manetho, they are identified by M. Champollion as being the same Pharaoh whose name so often occurs in the monumental history of Egypt. Besides several vast temples which still exist in Nubia, he constructed the edifice called the palace of Osymakias, a portion of the immense building of Karnack, and the anterior court, the portal, and the colossal monuments of the palace of Luxor at Thebes. Nor was his munificent patronage confined to these works of art connected with luxury and superstition. He intersected the country with canals, and secured it against inundations by embankments of prodigious magnitude and extent. He also undertook the grand and useful work of excavating a navigable canal between the Nile and the Red Sea, a project which was subsequently resumed by Nekao the Second, and finally carried into effect under the Ptolemies. There are several fine original statutes of this Pharoah in the royal museum at Turin, grouped with the images of the tutelary gods and goddesses of Egypt, and inscribed with legends in the usual style of oriental hyperbole and adulation like the following;

'The living God and Lord of the World, RE-SATE, approved by PHRE, the Child of the Sun, the Cherished of AMON,

'RAMSES, vivifier, beloved of AMON-RA, Lord of the three zones of the Universe, presiding in the Regions of Apt, great God, and Lord of the Heavens.'

'Thus saith AMON-RA, King of the Gods; *We have given long and happy Life, and the Dominion, to Thee, who art Lord of the World*, RE-SATE, *approved by* PHRE.'

One of the most curious monuments of Egyptian antiquity is that called the table of Abydos, discovered in the ruins of the temple at Abydos by M. Calliaud and interpreted by M. Champollion. It is a complete geneological list of the predecessors of Ramses the Great, the Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty, in phonetic hieroglyphics, corresponding precisely with the list of those monarchs contained in the chronicle of Manetho. The accuracy of this genealogy is again verified by the

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repetition of the same names with their appropriate legends upon the various edifices constructed by those sovereigns, and upon statues, bas-reliefs, and other public monuments intended to honor their memory. This native dynasty is the most illustrious in the annals of Egypt, especially if taken in connexion with the succeeding one (the nineteenth), from which it is not easy to say why it should be separated, since the reputed founder of the latter race of kings, Sethos or Ramses the Great, was the son of Amenophis the Third, the last sovereign of the eighteenth dynasty. This race of Pharaohs then swayed the sceptre of Egypt for five centuries and a half in uninterrupted succession; and it was during their reign that Cecrops and Danaus emigrated to Athens and Argos, and established those colonies which had such an important influence on the early civilization of Hellas; it was during the same period that the barbarous yoke of the *Hyksos* was shaken off, and the tribes of Israel were driven from Egypt, the most splendid monuments of Memphis, Thebes, and Nubia were constructed, and the Egyptian monarchy was raised to the highest pitch of grandeur by the conquests, and what is better, by the splendid and useful works of Ramses the Great. It might fatigue, and would not probably instruct the reader to enumerate all the monuments of sculpture and architecture with which Egypt was embellished during this her golden age. In general it may be observed of the style of ancient Egyptian art, that it seems to partake of the fixed and immutable character of the national civilization. Their temples are beyond those of any other nation (we will not even except the Gothic) adapted to the expression of the simple and sublime ideas of a spiritual religion; but the *pose* of their statues is little varied, and they preserve a simple and severe attitude. This may be attributed to the fact of these sculptures being intended merely as the architectural ornaments of temples and palaces, and adapted to harmonize with the great masses of these edifices without breaking their grand and majestic lines by too decided movements. Egyptian art was not like that of Greece, an imitation of the beau ideal,—of the forms of eternal beauty; but of their own peculiar national physiognomies, or the fabulous and often fantastic forms which their mythology required to express religious ideas. In short, as M. Champollion has observed, their painting, sculpture, and architecture, were designed for the notation of ideas rather than the representation of external objects.

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Their pictures and bas-reliefs, their statues, and even their temples, obelisks, and pyramids were branches of the art of written language. In Greece, art being cultivated for its own sake, the perfection of form was everything; in Egypt, it was a secondary object only; provided the idea was clearly expressed, it was immaterial how careless or even gross was the execution of the symbol. Every accessory ornament of Egyptian architecture, however minute, had its appropriate value and signification, closely connected with the leading idea, with a view to which the edifice itself was constructed. The decorations of the Greek and Roman temples speak to the eye only; to the mind they are silent. The art of writing was separated from the imitative arts at a very early period in Greece by the introduction of the alphabet; in Egypt they continued inseparably blended together as branches of one and the same art. The history of Egypt is recorded upon its public monuments. The language in which it is written is no longer an inscrutable mystery; but the vast outline of the Egyptian annals still remains void of those details which constitute the life and interest of history. Twenty centuries of time are filled with long lists of kings, of whom little more is known than the names, dates, and order of succession. In vain do we attempt to seize their characteristic features, and to trace the effect of their conduct upon the condition and happiness of the people. They may be compared to the interminable line of Banquo's posterity in the vision of Macbeth; 'each gold-bound brow is like the first.' General results are all that we can yet realize from these scanty materials. The inevitable imperfection of hieroglyphic language seems to render it doubtful whether this want of details can ever be fully supplied, unless the lost work of Manetho, or some other equivalent document should be recovered from oblivion. A mere monumental history must necessarily be very limited. Still we would not chill the enthusiasm of those who expect so rich a harvest of discovery from the researches in which M. Champollion is now engaged in Egypt, and shall rejoice if it exceeds the most sanguine expectations of himself, his patrons, and all the admirers of these studies.

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ART. V.—*Travels in the North of Germany, in the Years 1825 and 1826.* By HENRY E. DWIGHT, A. M. New York. G. & C. & H. Carvill. 1829. 8vo. pp. 450.

FOR the combined advantages of a temperate and healthful climate, richness of soil, extent of territory, grandeur of natural scenery, numerous and noble rivers, and variety of productions, Germany has no occasion to envy the rest of Europe. That beautiful country is inhabited by a hardy, persevering, intelligent, honest, pacific, though martial race, which has received from its climate, religion, and laws, as well as from circumstances, the character it has constantly displayed. Foreign civilization has necessarily caused some modification of the original type; yet, the primitive features pierce strongly through the customs and manners adopted from the Franks, with whom the Germans were united, and from the other nations with whom they afterwards came in contact through commerce, wars, or travel.

The delineation of their moral physiognomy, sketched by Tacitus, will be found even at present far more accurate, than any that has been drawn of the moral condition of the French before their revolution, or of the Spaniards, thirty years ago. Not that from apathy or prejudice, or through the influence of religion or government, the Germans ever were remarkable for that inflexibility, or (to use M. de Châteaubriand's expression) "that stagnation of character," which until recently distinguished the Spaniards; but although an extensive and continual intercourse with other nations, together with a good-natured pliancy to foreign taste and fashions, sometimes modifies the earnest enthusiasm, the spirit of independence, the candor, and the *bonhommie* deeply impressed in the national character, these rarely become so adulterated, in any individual, as to be mistaken by a competent observer for the ardor of the Italians, the sentiment of political dignity in the British, or the perfect simplicity of heart and mind, which one would rejoice to find elsewhere than in Captain Hall's account of Loo Choo. There is always a good deal of strong sense and perspicacity, mixed up with a degree of shrewdness, in the confidence and placability of a German. The vehemence and depth of his feelings are seldom widely expansive, and are, therefore, when they lead to wo and destruction, fatal only to one or a few individuals.

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Thus also national pride, and love of freedom, have not as yet shone in Germany, as in other countries, whose inhabitants are inferior in those qualities, which insure what that pride and that love seem to promise.

Nothing has so much contributed to this, as the subdivision of Germany into a multitude of sovereign states. National glory had to contend with an ambition, which may be called individual, when the extent of the whole country is compared to that of any of the several states. The surprise or humiliation which a Prussian may feel, at being asked in Spain or in remoter countries, whether he is a German, must be greatly diminished, if he reflects on the anomaly of twenty-seven millions, designating themselves by the same national denomination and speaking the same language; * and who are notwithstanding divided into numerous political bodies, which have powerful and almost inevitable motives to be reciprocally jealous, and sometimes in hostile array one against another.

Yet this dispersion and consequent mutilation of force, and and an increasing difficulty of concentrating resources, which might seem to be intended by nature to remain for ever united, have been and will continue to be, the source of great moral and intellectual advantages. Universal empire has never yet produced to mankind real and lasting benefit, on whatever scale or at whatever epoch it has been attempted. It would strengthen the government to an excessive degree, be it more or less monarchial (truly republican it could never be), and lower the subjects in moral dignity, by which the national character, if it had once been great, would become debased, and, if weak, still weaker. It was, therefore, fortunate for Germany, that the endeavor of some of its early sovereigns to extend their power, by means of the subjugation of Italy, became as fatal to them as similar ones have always been to the French; that the scheme of some of the heads of the German Empire to lower the nobility, by the increase of the wealth and the author-

* There is a singular exaggeration in Rees's Cyclopædia (Art. Germany) in regard to the several dialects and shades of pronunciation of the German language. "The tie of language was so weak, that the national hatred of the inhabitants of the Prussian dominions against those of the Austrian states, was as great as that which prevailed between the English aud the French." The writer might have mentioned truer and stronger motives for their political estrangement and popular prejudices.

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ity of the clergy, soon induced an arrogant and ambitious Pope to conspire against the dignity of the Emperor; that an interregnum reduced more and more the imperial dignity; that the feudal subordination, which bound together divers members of the Empire, was loosened by private wars; that whilst the Emperors were chosen by all the members of the German body, they wanted the private revenue, and would have sought in vain for the public aid, necessary to recover the power which the immediate successors of Charlemagne and the Othos had possessed; and that when the elective right was devolved upon seven princes, the jealousy of the nobility, and of the free cities against the heads of the Empire, became the greater, the electors themselves sharing in this jealousy.

Thus it was also a happy circumstance, that the clergy for many centuries were strongly inclined towards Rome; that the power and wealth of the different states were very unequal, and that the Empire was unwieldy, as long as such a cause as the religious disturbances of the sixteenth century, or the personal qualities of a sovereign like Charles the Fifth were wanting to infuse into it an unusual spirit of vigor, enterprise, and harmony. 'The power of the Empire,' says Machiavelli, in a memoir on the affairs of Germany, 'is very great, but it is difficult to bring it to bear on any question; and if those who are frightened by it reflect upon the few great things it has done for a long time, they must confess that little reliance can be placed on it.' The causes of this inefficiency produced many advantages, which it was not the object of the great Florentine statesman to consider.

Had Germany been what he wished Italy to become,—a single political body,—Protestantism would not have made so rapid a progress; and the vast consequences it has produced, would probably have been exclusively confined to England, a portion of the Low Countries, and Switzerland. However fortunate it might have been for the cause of religion, and the interest of the civil institutions connected with it, had no political views been mixed up with the reformation of its abuses, and however desirable it might have been that, whilst these abuses were eradicated, a sparing hand should protect the establishments which had their origin in the Church, it is still certain that, without political rivalry and without wars among the German princes, the great cause of reformation and religious toleration could not have prospered, at least so extensively and so rapidly

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as it did, in a great portion of Germany, from the moment that a political schism broke out in the Empire.

As soon as the triumph of Protestantism was secured, several branches of the German family partook of its immediate and remote advantages, in proportion as they were more or less imbued with its spirit, and yielded more or less willingly to its influences. In regard to internal and external polity, domestic prosperity, progress in literature and science, and the cultivation of natural resources, Catholic and Protestant Germany presented different degrees of advancement, but the most important features of the national character remained in both identical. The same causes do not produce the same effect in Switzerland, because the cantons in which either of the two religions prevail, are, in comparison with most of the analogous German states, too small to render inoperative the effect of the ecclesiastical system which they in preference maintain, and hold more closely combined with their civil institutions.

But it may nevertheless be affirmed, that, as neither the Catholic religion nor any of the Protestant churches has ever enjoyed anywhere in Germany, since the sixteenth century, an exclusive sway, and as the political spirit of the new doctrines has deeply penetrated the minds of those even who have tenaciously clung to the church of Rome, no portion of that country has remained without benefit from the greatest of all revolutions—that which emancipated conscience from imaginary crimes. There is, however, so much truth in the remark, that literature, industry, and education are in a more advanced state in the Protestant, than in the Catholic districts of Germany, that, by the habit of exaggeration so natural to superficial observers, Austria, for example, is almost ranked by some on a level with bigoted countries; and because the hand of a suspicious government (suspicious, in consequence of the diversity of the nations it rules, the embarrassments arising from a long existence, and its geographical situation) weighs somewhat heavily in its metropolis, more on strangers than on the natives, some travellers have described the whole country as lying under the burden of a blind despotism and of a systematic ignorance. Such a representation, however, is vastly exaggerated. The difference of civilization becomes insensibly less striking to the view of an observer placed alternately in the Austrian and Prussian dominions, or in Bavaria and Saxony; and if he

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finds the agents of the police at Vienna too rude, he must not expect to be altogether without secret followers at Berlin. Economy prevails in all the German governments; in private matters justice is administered, under every one of them, with expedition and perfect impartiality; political crimes are seldom committed, and are certainly not encouraged, from vindictiveness or from an intention to strike terror in the minds of the people; the shackles that impede the free action of industry are few; the taste for military parades and for war has wonderfully decreased; the higher classes are less haughty, since the lower prefer wealth and the influence it procures, to mere nominal advantages; the oppressive privileges of the nobility are few, and the clergy preserve hardly any. Such is the general condition of Germany; but the Protestant portion of it nevertheless displays more activity than the Catholic. There investigation is freer and more unrelenting; the excitement of literature is greater; and arts and manufactures vie in prosperity with agriculture. Learning, however, is not confined to Saxony, Prussia, or Hanover, though in Austria *readers* are less numerous. There is more repose in the latter country, and more intellectual life in the former. In Austria, ambition is the privilege of the higher classes; in Protestant Germany it is to thousands the source of more enjoyments and also of more sufferings; in Austria the government proceeds with secrecy to the same end, towards which, in the neighboring states, it has been found that public attention could be called without danger. With the principles that direct the Austrian government (an Imperial aristocracy), a state may expect a long undisturbed existence; whilst with those which guide the Prussian rulers, the safety of their political system, and the success of their undertakings, depend to a considerable degree on public opinion, and consequently need greater abilities and skill, though not more virtue, or better intentions.

We have been led to these reflections by the limited range of the excursion Mr Dwight has made in Germany. As his work treats of Northern Germany alone, we thought a few hints on the effects of the territorial division of that country, and of the reformation, and on the distinctive features of the Catholic portion would serve to remind our readers, that all which our author says is by no means applicable to the whole of Germany, although most of his remarks on the national character apply to the mass of its inhabitants.

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Mr. Dwight considers the present Germanic confederation, of whose fundamental principles we shall presently give his own account, exclusively in its material force, and its aptitude, on that score, to fulfil the common purposes for which it must be supposed to exist, if we are to judge from the name it bears. In this point of view,—that of physical strength,—it certainly is yet far from testifying either the high sagacity or the perfect sincerity of its founders. Contemplated as a barrier against France, the author is not unwarranted in doubting the scrupulous adherence of such a state as Nassau or Hesse-Darmstadt to the laws of the confederation, should it find itself in an emergency, which would leave it with no other prospect, than to be helplessly exposed to the horrors of war, or with little hope of escaping the subjugation of its enemy or of its allies. The army of the old Germanic Empire gathered few laurels. Nevertheless, the Germanic confederation was from its origin a wise and profound conception. But to view it in this light, it is necessary to dwell more on its moral source and moral tendency than on its physical capacity. Frederick the Great did no less by his wars of invasion, than by his predilection for French literature, to extinguish in the hearts of his countrymen every German feeling; and his philosophical tenets, aided by the cosmopolitism and the irreligious spirit propagated by the most seductive writers of his time, scarcely permitted his subjects to be Prussians, and in no way Germans. Those who rejoiced at the humiliation of Austria, did not foresee, that dangers might spring up, which could only be overcome by a common resistance. The Empire was, in spite of its many defects, a means of union; and even had Austria and Prussia been compelled to remain in a jealous reciprocal position, on account of their private interests, or the welfare of all Germany, still two leagues might have been organized, with sufficient physical means to resist the aggression of Russia and France (the only two foreign powers that Germany had to fear, since Italy, Spain, and Turkey had ceased to be connected with its policy), and to balance the two principal German monarchies. When after an unsuccessful attempt of Joseph the Second to incorporate Bavaria with Austria, he sought to obtain it by an exchange for the Low Countries, Frederick the Great, even after the Emperor had abandoned his ambitious project, thought it necessary to the equilibrium and general tranquillity of Europe, and particularly to the security of Ger-

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many, to form a Germanic league, by a treaty, concluded in July 1785, which France secretly promoted, and to which the only parties at the beginning were Prussia and the electors of Saxony and Brunswick, but to which afterwards several princes and states of the Empire acceded.* This league, known by the name of the League of Princes *(der Fürstenbund)* was essentially defensive, and had for its model those of Smalkalde (1539), the union of 1609, and the confederation concluded at Leipsic in 1631. The sagacious minister of Maria Theresa, Prince Kaunitz, became alarmed, and endeavored to counteract the designs of the great sovereign of Prussia, by proposing to the members of the Empire a league with the Emperor. But that devised by Frederick was maintained, and only dissolved by the events which gave a new direction to the policy of his successor, Frederick William. Then, indeed, the attempt to maintain any such league would have failed, because all common feeling, all sympathy for the tranquillity and honor of Germany, and all belief in a general interest of the several German states, had already as little effect on the political combinations of the leaders, as on the habitual feelings of the people.

This lamentable indifference for national concerns explains, better than the military enthusiasm and the revolutionary fervor of the armies of France, the conquests they made in Germany, and the disgrace with which they covered so many of its princes. A real national feeling did not show itself, particularly in Prussia, till the war, justly called the *war of freedom* (not altogether of civil liberty, as theorists and speculators might wish,—but of political freedom, or more properly of independence). The first sparks of the holy fire, which, during that struggle, warmed a vast majority of the Germans, were visible in Prussia before the battle of Jena.

The guerilla system was tried, and not without success, in Silesia, by the Prince of Pless, and the government had but to slacken a little the reins, to find itself carried triumphantly over the precipices with which it was surrounded. It was not so much from a fear of revolutionary commotions as from a want of energy and the novelty of the circumstances, that Frederick

* The Dukes of Saxe-Weimar, Gotha and Deux-Ponts, Mecklenburg, Hesse, the Bishop of Osnabruck, the Prince of Anhalt, the Margrave of Baden, and the Bishop of Mentz.

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William did not, at that epoch, seek his strength where it really lay, and where the force of circumstances afterwards compelled him to look for it.

During the negotiations at Vienna in 1814, the most able statesmen of Germany, several of whom will ever deserve to be numbered among her most patriotic sons, were aware, that, unless *some* bond of union was created, the same apathy, the same disunion, and the same inability to act for a common object, would soon again influence the common destiny. The smaller states had been the most mischievous in the conflict with France. The bold politicians, who wished to extinguish them, and form with their ruins three or four great masses, must not be accused of parricidal or ambitious designs. Machiavelli was certainly not a votary of despotism, though he wished that much power should be deposited in some quarter, for the purpose of liberating Italy from the 'barbarians.' The reforms in the internal administration, claimed by the advancement of society, might have been realized more promptly in extensive monarchies, than in a considerable number of small principalities. But the difficulties respecting Saxony proved too clearly, that such a change could not even be tried by way of experiment, and that compactness, identity of interests, natural boundaries, and consequently a new division of Germany, for purposes principally relative to its foreign relations and to political reform, must be given up for the present if not for ever. Such being the law imposed by existing interests, long habits, and prejudices, which could be neither disregarded nor reconciled, it appeared best to keep alive the national feeling by a machinery which would remind the several states that, besides Austria, Prussia, Saxony, Bavaria, &c., there exists the common German *fatherland*. We are not, we confess, among those who regret that the former plan of organizing three or four great political masses, failed of success. We place greater hopes in the system that now exists. Its moral spirit, the sentiments from which it has taken rise, its capacity of being amended and enlarged, the means it has of calling out the energies of the nation (though it seems at present not to have breath enough to disturb the slumbers of the most nervous), its resemblance, in one word, to other powerful engines, which conceal their wholesome or destructive energies, until touched by a skilful hand; all these warrant its usefulness, its duration, and its gradual improvement.

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Considered in this light, it has already become unimportant whether Mentz, a fortress of the Confederation, is garrisoned by the troops of one, two, or three princes, at an epoch so little remote from the time, when the restlessness of French ambition fixed on that quarter particularly the solicitude of those sovereigns who, on account of the greater interests they had at stake, were the most concerned in their own independence, and that of all Germany. If, at present, Austria and Prussia seem to have so preponderating an influence in the deliberations at Frankfort, the time may come when ambitious and selfish schemes, pursued by either of these two governments, will be promptly checked by those that now seem their inferiors. In politics, as in private conduct, safety lies in *principles*. Germany had none at all, as a body politic, at the beginning of the present century. It wanted a soul, and it was treated like a body without life by the reckless hand of revolutionary experimentalists.

Russia displayed magnanimity, disinterestedness, and solicitude for the preservation of peace, in contributing to the present political system of Germany. By the treaty of Teschen, she had become a guarantee of the Germanic Empire;—an office, which the treaty of Westphalia had devolved upon France and Sweden, and which Russia never has in any way abused. At the congress of Vienna, she forebore, not only to avail herself of her right to revive the preceding political organization, but generously contributed to the construction of the present Germanic body, without claiming, for the future, the influence which had been granted to her at Teschen over the affairs of Germany.

We copy from the work before us the prominent principles of the compact, which binds together the German confederates.

'1. *Der Deutsche Bund*, or the German Alliance, has avowed its object to be the preservation of their own freedom. In doing this, the thirty-nine states which compose it, are mutually pledged to support each other in every defensive war. In a war of conquest, or in one which is offensive, the other states are not required to lend any assistance to the aggressor.

'2. Every one of the states is required not to give any provocation to the neighboring powers. Should it however be given, it is the duty of the Alliance to demand redress of the offending state, and at the same time adopt such measures as shall as soon as possible, put a check to the consequences resulting from this violation of peace.

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'3. If one of the states is threatened by a foreign power, and the danger apppears real, the Diet is required to adopt those measures which shall be necessary to protect the party threatened.

'4. The German Alliance has the right of declaring war in full assembly, whenever two thirds of the voices are in favor of it.

'5. If the majority of the diet decide that there is no danger to be apprehended from the conduct of a foreign power, and some of the states are still convinced of it, they have the right to take the necessary measures for resisting an invasion.

'6. In case of war, each state is required to furnish its specified quota of troops, if they should be needed, and this may be increased *ad libitum;* but if so, the additional number must be supported by the funds of that state.

'7. If one of these states, which has possessions not represented at the diet, declares war on its own account, as an European power, the Alliance are not required to render to that state any assistance. Should, however, the other German states be in danger from such a contest, they must, whenever a majority of the Diet shall think it necessary, assist that state, so far as is necessary, to protect the independence of the Alliance.

'8. After the Alliance has once declared war, no state, whether it has possessions out of Germany or not, can individually make peace or agree to a cessation of hostilities.

'9. Peace can be concluded in a full assembly only.' p. 30.

The author ought to have qualified the opinion he ascribes to the Germans, in regard to the weight of the Confederation in the affairs of Europe. It is not indeed viewed as very important by impatient reformers, but he may be sure, that the majority of politicians do not wonder, that the principal powers of Europe have regular diplomatic missions at Frankfort.

It is to be hoped that one of the earliest results of the new German compact, will be the removal of the obstacles which politically obstruct the navigation of the streams intersecting several of the German states. At the congress of Vienna, the allied sovereigns pledged themselves to leave entirely unrestricted the navigation of these rivers to their mouths, to all who should conform to the regulations under which this affranchisement was to be granted. Among these rivers, the Elbe and the Rhine are of most importance in regard to external trade. The former runs through Bohemia, Saxony, Prussia, and Hanover, and falls into the German ocean. The latter rises in Switzerland, and waters Alsace, Baden, Hesse-Darmstadt, Nassau, the Rhenish provinces of Prussia, and the Netherlands.

Under the stipulations of the treaty of Westphalia, the mari-

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time commerce through Antwerp and the ancient Spanish Low Countries was prohibited to the German nations, the United Provinces, considering the privileges, which they had reserved to themselves by the treaty concluded with Spain in 1648, as essential to their political existence. We need merely allude to the difficulties in which Joseph the Second was involved, on endeavoring, in 1784, to open such a communication through the Scheldt. France, at last, paid him four millions and a half of florins, and the United Provinces five millions and a half, in order to make him desist from his pretensions, and to close again the Scheldt from Saxtingen to the sea, and the canals of Sas and Swin.

The restraints that embarrass the navigation of the Rhine now consist principally in the tolls and taxes which the several governments exact from those who pass through their territories. A desire to protect local industry and to increase the public revenue by restrictions on foreign trade (a political mistake, we must confess, though not everywhere censurable in the same degree, and at all times,) is sufficient to explain the obstinacy with which some of the German cabinets have disregarded the voice that claims the entire freedom of internal navigation, and at any rate renders it unnecessary to ascribe their conduct, in this respect, to a constant, systematic, and secret hostility between certain states on all subjects. The day when the Rhine shall become entirely free, will certainly open a new era in the commerce and industry of Germany. Already Prussia, from her coast on the Baltic, is endeavoring to soar to the dignity and independence of a sea-faring nation. Her flag is no longer unknown in regions that, during more than two centuries, had never heard of her as a maritime power; and perhaps before long she will seek to obtain a colonial establishment in the West Indies, for the same purposes, and with the same advantages, as those for which Denmark and Sweden possess islands in that region.

Struensee, the able minister of Frederick the Great, strove to produce these results, by several wise financial measures, and by the protection he granted to the national commerce. But the wars in which his successors were engaged, put a stop to all similar attempts. Mirabeau's Secret History of the Court of Berlin contains curious details respecting the basis upon which Struensee endeavored to give to Prussia a new importance in the commercial world.

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Leaving political topics, we proceed with Mr Dwight to Göttingen, where he is naturally led to make many reflections on the studies, libraries, professors, and students of the German universities. In 1821 there were twenty-two universities in Germany, containing ten thousand six hundred students and eight hundred and sixty instructers; and the number of both have so rapidly increased, that, in 1825, the former amounted to sixteen thousand four hundred and thirty-two, and the latter to one thousand and fifty-nine. Catholic Germany, with a population of nineteen millions, had but five of these principal seats of learning; and the Protestant portion, with two millions less of inhabitants, had sixteen universities. The medical students were more than one fourth part of the whole number.

The duels and the clannishness, at the German universities, have become in the United States frequent topics of newspaper articles, principally since the appearance of Mr Russell's interesting, but somewhat prejudiced work.* The redeeming circumstances blended with these youthful extravagances, have not, however, been sufficiently brought into account. They will not seem illusory to those who know how insolent and overbearing the military was, until lately, in Germany towards the *bourgeoisie*, and how strong the barrier still is, which separates the nobility from the *roture*. At the universities, impertinent lieutenants become mild and reasonable; and counts and barons mingle without scruple, and fraternize with those who have not even the *von* before their names. Although many of these young sprigs of aristocracy resume, after their academic studies, a true patrician coldness to their friends of obscure condition (somewhat in the manner of the Spaniards, who leave at the foot of the Pyrenees, the fashions and manners they have adopted in another country, or of a high-born British traveller, who forgets in England the acquaintances he has made on the Continent), still equality has for some years been admitted to exist at the universities, in common pursuits and social intercourse, and consequently arrogance and prejudices have received a salutary check in early life.

In a political and historical view, the German universities have as yet been very far from performing so considerable a part as those of Scotland, after the reign of the Stuarts, or

* Tour in Germany and some of the Southern Provinces of the Austrian Empire. By John Russell.

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that of Oxford, not only under Cromwell, but in the more pacific times of the the two first sovereigns of the House of Hanover. A charge of indiscretion and insubordination against the former can therefore be grounded only on a few examples of obscure and private misdemeanor.

The stain which frequent duels stamp upon the character of the German students is moreover diminished, in some degree, by the precaution they use to guard themselves on common occasions with sundry defensive implements.

'To protect the hand,' our author says, 'a circular piece of brass or iron of six or eight inches in diameter, rises between the handle and the blade.' 'The dress consists of very thick gloves, which come almost to the elbows, and of a leathern jacket corresponding with a breastplate, which is so stuffed and padded that a sword cannot penetrate it. This descends below the hips and guards every vital part of the body. Nothing but the face is exposed, as if it were the only part of the person worthy of being ornamented with scars. At this they aim all their blows, as it is considered unworthy of a *Bursch* to strike at the legs of his opponent. The seconds are arrayed in the same costume as the combatants. They place themselves on each side of their friends with drawn swords, and ward off those blows which defy the skill of the principals. Although not in the thickest of the affray they not unfrequently receive wounds themselves.' p. 52.

The German students, as Mr Dwight justly observes, distinguish themselves, notwithstanding their fopperies, from those of France, by a greater care in their personal appearance. They come to the university with the consciousness of an entire independence from almost all authority for three or four years; and if this be taken into account in connexion with the fact, that the most boisterous, on leaving the universities, are generally, throughout their whole existence, quiet and inoffensive citizens, some indulgence will be granted to the short period of their folly and youthful ebullition, during their first, and often their only enjoyment of self-government.

The establishment of a university in Berlin was a subject of serious apprehension to many, who feared the seductions which so great a capital presented to the youthful appetite for pleasure. But no school of such eminence has ever risen so rapidly, or offers at present a more splendid prospect. It does great credit to the liberality and the wisdom of the Prussian government, and will certainly produce wholesome results, not only in point of learning, but also in point of elegance and re-

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finement of manners, an early taste for political transactions, attention to the public institutions, and enlarged patriotic views. The want of a university in its metropolis has been perhaps the cause that Prussia, notwithstanding the vast extent to which learning had been carried, has produced but very few highly distinguished individuals in the diplomatic career, and that her present minister for foreign affairs was, in a measure, solicited from Denmark. Fifteen years ago the students of Leipsic were sneered at in Halle and Göttingen on account of their effeminacy, or rather their intercourse with the *Philistines*, as money-making people, and all those who are not of the learned classes were called. Although the students of the Berlin university are, according to Mr Dwight, the most slovenly and negligent in their personal appearance 'that he had seen in Europe' (p. 193), generally very poor, and almost exclusively devoted to their pursuits, we venture to foretell, that they will gradually improve in their external address by a free intercourse with higher orders of society than are met with in the smaller cities.

We are less struck, than our author, with the great longevity of the literati of Germany. 'Heyne died at eighty-six, Kastner at eighty-one, Michaëlis at seventy-four, Haller at seventy, Kant at eighty, Jacobs at seventy-six, and the poets Wieland and Klopstock at eighty-one and at seventy-nine years of age. Goethe is now seventy-six.' We could easily make out a numerous list of mathematicians of different countries, who have attained a very great age. Literature and science, cultivated with extraordinary energy and with an exclusive fondness, contribute so much to peace and well-being, that, unless organic defects counteract their wholesome influences, the course of life is generally very smooth and long.

Mr Dwight gives too much importance to the mild and uniform temperature arising from stoves; although he would be right in pitying the poor student, born in Germany, who had to depend for heat upon a fire-place that requires constant care, that smokes, or scorches one part of his body, while the other is chilled with cold. The rooms of the German literati are generally too warm from the unceasing action of their stoves and tobacco-pipes, and a carelessness in renewing the air; and some of their metaphysical speculations bear testimony to the inconvenience of such an arrangement.

It is gratifying to learn, that the professors have now better

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salaries and larger incomes than twenty years ago. Five or six thousand dollars are a large revenue in Germany where there was, at Mr Dwight's time, at Göttingen, a young prince whose fortune (allowance?) did not exceed six hundred dollars a year; 'an income,' adds he, 'inferior to many of our tailors' and shoemakers'.'

He found at Hanover a female institution, and similar establishments are not rare in Germany though we do not remember to have read an account of them in any of the works published recently on that country.

'There are in Hanover eleven Protestant convents, where young ladies may retire who have survived the bloom of youth, and have arrived at single blessedness, and may pass down the stream of time, in each other's society, in uninterrupted tranquillity. Each of these institutions is under the direction of an elderly lady, corresponding, in some degree, with the abbess of Catholic convents. The young ladies receive annually from two to three hundred rix dollars, with which they are enabled to live genteelly. The restraints of the institution are not severe. They receive visits from their friends, usually in the presence of the governess, though that is not required, or has been for a short time only. It is not necessary to reside here constantly; a few weeks of each year being sufficient to entitle them to the pension. Some of them accordingly pass most of their time with their friends, and whenever they are thrown out upon the world by the dissolution of their families, they have a refuge, to which they can retire, without experiencing those mortifications which are so frequently attendant upon adversity. These asylums are under the direction of government, to which parents, wishing to procure such places for their children, apply. It requires some influence at court to obtain them, as the number of applicants is much greater than that of vacancies. Parents not unfrequently solicit them while the children are quite young, and some of them receive the promise of them even from the cradle, although, I believe, they do not enjoy the emolument until they approach the shady side of twenty, unless they reside in the convent at least a part of the time. As they receive visits at these institutions without great restrictions, it sometimes occurs, that a visiter is wounded, and can find no peace, until the fair mademoiselle has blessed him with her hand; for love, who usually makes "the camp, the court, and the grove," his favorite haunts, sometimes pays a flying visit to these convents, to prove to the world his omnipotence. Whenever a lady is thus addressed, she has the consolation of knowing that her lover is actuated by the purest affection, as her limited pension is taken from her as soon as she enters into

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the "holy bands." Of the eleven convents of this description, now in Hanover, *nine* of them are for the daughters of the nobility; a striking evidence not only of the superiority which birth gives here, but also of the poverty of this class of society.' pp. 100, 101.

Convents, established for such ends and on such principles, would do credit to the humanity and enlightened liberality of any nation.

The following are the principal traits of the German universities, which the author has attempted, not without success, to exhibit in a bolder relief by allusions to the colleges in his own country. The former have various classes of teachers; one, consisting of the public professors, enjoying a fixed salary with the privilege of doing so little for it, as to compel the students to attend their private lectures, on paying, it is true, a very moderate fee; the other, who may be compared to the *repetitori* of Italy, and the preceptors or college tutors at Oxford and Dublin, depending altogether on private or subsidiary tuition for their subsistence, until they rise by the excitement of emulation and by increasing exertions to the higher rank of public professors.

The second peculiarity of these academic schools is, that not only every science, and every principal branch of classical and polite learning, has its own professor, but most of their main subdivisions are explained in special courses. This classification and separate teaching, and the close study of the subject they require, produce obviously immense advantages. Still, it may be questioned, whether the usual residence of no more than three or four years at a university, allows the most industrious student to take more than an extremely limited survey of the several branches upon which such special lectures are delivered. The greatest utility he derives from them is, perhaps, to become familiar with the names and merits of the authors he may study after his academical course is ended. In this respect, the abundant notes the students take down during the lectures, and which swell, under the pen of the most unremitting, to twenty or more thick manuscript volumes, are really of much importance to them for their future literary or scientific pursuits, although their attention must too often be merely fixed mechanically upon what falls from the lips of the lecturer. This accounts for the anecdote of a young gentleman, who is said to have returned to the university from which

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he had just departed, and attended afresh the lectures, only because he had lost the trunk which contained his memoranda. It is certainly all important to be guided in the selection of books and in the mode of study. For the same reason, obligation will be felt, even by those who are most conversant with literature in its widest range, to authors who follow the example of several German writers in accompanying their works with a catalogue *raisonné* of the best treatises already existing on the subjects of which they themselves treat. Thus, few historical works of any merit have been published recently in Germany with the blemish of Voltaire's *Essai sur les Mœurs*, which, from a neglect of reference to authorities, often leaves the reader in doubt as to the truth of the facts, upon which the philosopher of Ferney sarcastically comments, while he places himself in the unguarded and dangerous position of an assailant, conscious of his strength and skill, or confident in his light and well-tempered weapons, but altogether unprovided with a buckler or any other defensive armor.

Well considered, an academic course cannot, and in a measure should not, do more than afford a clear and rapid view of the wide field of general knowledge, an incipient acquaintance with the best authors, and a just notion of the best methods of pursuing leisurely, regular and extensive studies, be they professional or not, medicine alone excepted. Seldom has a student future means or opportunities like those which the universities of continental Europe, and the establishments connected with them, afford. Accordingly, academic degrees are not distributed in Germany with a lavish hand; and since to obtain them, is almost without exception the reward of long study and of great and solid attainments, the leaving of Halle or Göttingen, without even the less brilliant of these honors, does not tend to disparage the conduct or the abilities of the student thus departing.

We speak here, of course, of real universities, and not of gymnasia or preparatory schools, had they even the privilege of conferring degrees. We refer the reader to the work under review, in regard to the attainments that are required from a native to be regularly received into a German university, and the facilities which he finds in them for being initiated in every branch of theoretical knowledge. Mr Dwight ought perhaps more to have borne in mind the differences that exist between those high schools and the colleges of the United States, con-

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stituted as they are at present, and must remain, so long as candidates for public offices shall not be obliged, as in Germany, to give proofs of a regular academic education.

The immense libraries of the German universities and the great number of others, that are also open to the public, but inferior to the former in extent, are, in the author's opinion, one of the most enviable privileges of Germany. He dwells largely and repeatedly on this topic. Several pages of his work contain numerical lists of these establishments. He bestows a just encomium on the liberality with which these repositories of learning are opened to the student, and he has not said too much on the excellent order in which they are kept; on the good sense which leads to a disregard, in their progressive increase, of mere typographical splendor; and on the zeal, in Germany, to partake of the advancement which learning makes on every point of the globe. Three or four years have elapsed since Mr Dwight wrote these letters, and the lists he has collected are doubtless, at present, defective by many thousands of volumes, considering the ceaseless fertility of the presses in all European countries, Turkey and Spain always excepted. Mr Dwight looks back with fond yearnings to these immense libraries, and expresses more than once his belief, that as long as similar ones, or at least such as approximate to them in number and variety, are not found in the United States, this country will hold a very low rank in the world of science and of letters. Such an opinion seems to us the result of a misapprehension of the political and intellectual genius of this portion of the new world, and of an inattention to the circumstances which must necessarily produce, before long, a reaction against the luxuriance of the press. In a comparatively new country, constituted in many respects upon a social basis totally different from that of the old world, public taste will not be guided, and the mind of the learned or the studious fixed, solely by forming libraries upon the model of those in Germany. 'We have no books,' exclaims Mr Dwight, 'we are artisans without tools. What therefore can be expected from us?' He will probably think otherwise on more reflection. It will not be, we beg leave to assure him, from the facility of accumulating quotations by means of huge libraries, that discoveries will be made for the benefit of mankind; and a taste for foreign literature will not be necessarily promoted, by an accumulation of books, however excellent, in various

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languages. On the one hand, the situation and the destiny of this country are peculiar, and on the other, the study of foreign languages, or their neglect, is no sign of intellectual superiority or inferiority.

The circumstances which occasioned and accompanied the settlement of the British colonies; the situation in which they were placed, until the elements of their present condition were sufficiently unfolded to ensure their separation from the mother country; the literature of the epoch, when that event took place, a literature which nowhere else has been permitted to produce all its effects so entirely without any restraint; and the principles upon which the new institutions were founded,—have given to the national genius a freedom that could not fail to create, by a necessary consequence, an independence of mind, a reliance on individual powers, a self-will, and a practical character, as contrary to a tame submission under foreign rule, as to an easy adhesion to other dictates, than those of personal discrimination, reason, and conviction. Amidst such circumstances it is vain to expect, and if not unwise, yet useless to attempt, to bring ancient literature into as much cultivation as in the old world. Many years must pass, before there will be in the United States a class of men exclusively devoted to such studies, as are pursued by the German literati; and the political institutions must become radically altered, before such men, even were they to appear in any number, would cease to take an interest, too active for classical pursuits, in the political concerns of the country.

In regard to the study of foreign languages, it must not be forgotten, that the people of the United States have not the same inducements, as the Germans, to give much time to this acquirement. Social, commercial, and political circumstances are indispensable to stimulate a people to impose upon itself the irksome task of learning various languages; and the learned begin to study the modern literature of other countries, to any extent, only when, from the circumstances we have mentioned, foreign idioms have become from necessity familiar among a large portion of their countrymen. Hence in France, Great Britain, Spain, and Portugal, even during the epochs of their most active exertions in literature and science, no other language than that of the country itself was ever much cultivated by the learned, with the exception only of such as the commercial or political relations of the time brought for a period

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into use. Thus when the South American states shall have attained that tranquil and truly independent condition for which they are still struggling, the Spanish language will be in the United States, what, for instance, the Italian was once in Spain; and possibly Spanish literature may receive from this circumstance a vivifying impulse in this country. But it cannot be reasonably expected, that the mere importation of some thousands of German or Italian books, will suddenly create a thirst for reading them, or that which is emphatically called 'German diligence'; or that even the collection of classical works, in such quantities as are found in German universities and royal libraries, will be sufficient to awaken a taste for exegetical or obsolete lore. It might have been as reasonably hoped to transform Sheridan into a Porson or Parr, and Charles Fox into an Adam Smith, merely by heaping the works of those great authors along the walks of the one to his accustomed scenes of pleasure, and of the other to Westminster Hall, the true sphere of his genius.

In regard to public instruction, the most interesting and useful point of view, under which Germany can be exhibited, is in the multitude and the organization of the gymnasia, and her seminaries for the education of schoolmasters. Luther and Melancthon were, in this respect, the earliest and among the greatest benefactors of that country. Saxony, among the Protestant principalities, has the most zealously followed the great designs of those two reformers; next to Saxony comes Prussia; and both these kingdoms have no rival in Europe, unless it be the Southern part of Scotland. The Prussian government has never neglected to direct and foster the elementary schools, of which there are about seventeen thousand in the villages, and three thousand in the cities of that kingdom. To act in them as an instructer, an examination and a written permission from a committee of examiners are indispensable. Every province of the kingdom has one or more seminaries, at the expense of the government, for the education of schoolmasters, who prepare themselves in these establishments, by two or three years of severe study, not only to teach properly, but to cultivate the morals of their young pupils.

The parochial clergy are entrusted with the duty of visiting the schools of the parishes, and of conferring with the teachers on the improvements they think proper to suggest; and if they fail to agree in opinion, the question is submitted without fur-

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ther appeal to the superintendents of the district. The minister of public instruction receives annually from these functionaries reports on the condition of the respective schools, founded on information furnished not only by the clergy, but by the inspectors, who once or twice a year accompany the superintendents in their visitation of all the schools in the province.

The instructers are generally obliged to confine themselves exclusively to the performance of their several duties, some of which, however, are distinct from those of educating and teaching. They officiate as choristers, and during the absence or inability of the clergymen, they act as their substitutes, in reading the sermons which are furnished them for the occasion, and in catechizing their pupils. To send their children to school is not optional with the parents. Such as do not avail themselves of the facilities which are afforded by the government for the education of their offspring, and disregard the admonitions which the clergyman of the parish is bound to address to them, are fined, and no exception is made but in favor of the peasant who wants the aid of his children for the harvest, and a vacation for half the day from the first of April to the first of July. This continues until their confirmation, which is administered when they reach the age of fifteen or sixteen.

'The school-house,' says Mr Dwight, whom we have closely followed in the preceding short notice, on the schools of Prussia, 'is erected at the expense of the parish, and must be sufficiently large to accommodate the scholars and the family of the instructer, who receives the use of it gratis. In the vicinity of this edifice is a small garden and sometimes a few acres of land, of which he has the use so long as he remains the instructer of the parish. This building is not very elegant, as it usually contains but four or five chambers, but it is suitable for one whose income is so moderate as that of most of the instructers. Every parish has a treasury, from the funds of which the instructer is paid from seventy to eighty dollars per annum. Besides this amount each parent pays him six "pennings" a week, or about six cents per month, for the instruction of his children. In some cases he receives also a small quantity of butter and flax from the parents. His whole income, exclusive of the rent of the school-house, and the ground connected with it, rarely amounts to more than one hundred Spanish dollars, if he teaches one of the village schools. Those who live in the towns receive about one hundred and fifty dollars.

'All the books which are studied, are selected by the consisto-

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ry, and no new one can be introduced without its permission. The Bible is universally read by the children, and forms, as in our own country, the foundation of education for the youth of Prussia.' pp. 251, 252.

This is a picture that might easily seduce such minds as those of Shenstone, Crabbe, and Wordsworth, to dwell pathetically on the calling, the sufferings, and the virtues, that characterize so many who walk in this humble but useful sphere of life.*

It remains to mention the gymnasia or higher seminaries of Prussia and of Saxony. They are either private or public. In the former a large proportion of the boys are lodged, boarded, and constantly kept under the eye of the instructer, whilst the remainder live with their parents except during the seven or eight hours that they are obliged to attend the classes. In the public schools, attendance is only required during the lectures. At the head both of the public and private schools are rectors or presidents, and *conrectors* or vice-presidents. The instructers are examined by professors of a

* The traveller in Germany meets with an object of much interest in the town of Eisleben. The guide conducts you through one of the narrow streets, so common in the European cities, till you approach a dwelling very humble in its external appearance, almost as much so as that of Shakspeare in Stratford upon Avon, and bearing the inscription over the door,—'*This is the house in which Luther was born.*' On the same board is drawn by a rude pencil a portrait of the great Reformer, much resembling in execution the head of Franklin, sometimes affixed to our printers' shops. When you enter the door you find yourself in the midst of a small school, the teacher of which very civilly accompanies you to two upper apartments, which are kept sacred to the memory of Luther. The walls are hung with pictures, ancient and grotesque; and the rooms contain chairs, tables, and other decaying relics of their former possessor, which were brought here after his death. The writing-desk is of a peculiar construction. A swan of full size is carved in wood, which stands erect on the table, with the wings a little spread; on these the desk is placed and made fast. After satisfying your curiosity, and taxing the attentive schoolmaster with various questions, you write your name, with ink from Luther's inkstand, in an album upheld by the wings of the swan, and depart.

The house has been purchased by the king of Prussia, and is preserved as nearly in its primitive state as possible. No family resides in it, and it is only used for accommodating the little school. Immediately adjoining this house, and on the ground formerly attached to it, the king has caused to be erected a handsome and commodious school-house, where a school of a higher order is taught.

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university, and those of the first class must be qualified to give lectures at a university.

Boys are generally sent between the ages of nine and ten years, and they remain till they reach the age of sixteen or seventeen. They seldom wander from one gymnasium to another, for they would find it difficult to be admitted in any, unless they could give strong reasons for leaving the one to which they formerly belonged. Some of our youthful readers will be astonished at the account which Mr Dwight gives of the proficiency these scholars attain in Germany, after four or five years' study. They are already expected to translate from Latin into Greek, to converse in the former of these languages, to write Latin prolegomena to the ode they are reciting, to translate in verse the great poets of their country, or at least to write good Latin prose. The instructer does not correct the reciter or the writer unless some rival scholar has failed to point out the defects. They read (though not in every gymnasium, as Mr Dwight would lead us to infer) 'a part or the whole of Euripides, the Iliad and Odyssey, Xenophon, Herodotus, Demosthenes, Aristophanes, Virgil, Horace, Cicero, Quintilian, Tacitus, Livy, &c., some of the French classics, and a few books of the Old Testament in Hebrew. In mathematics, they study arithmetic, geometry, trigonometry, conic sections, spherics, and logarithms.'

The extensive verbal or printed commentaries by which, in these preparatory schools, the mind of the German youth is made conversant, not only with the dead letter of the works he reads, but with the genius, the local and moral circumstances, and the habits of those ancient nations, whose language he studies in their poetical and prose remains, are, as our author justly observes, one of the great reasons why classical studies are pursued in Germany, even in early life, with no less success than enthusiasm.

'The German student reads Homer,' says our author, 'with the eye of a Grecian, who is familiar with its society, and with the thoughts and actions of the heroic age. We peruse the Iliad with views formed solely by the manners and the feelings and systems of the nineteenth century. The former, by his previous studies, has been able to transport himself to a distant age and people, while we, standing at the distance of nearly three thousand years, look with the feelings we have acquired from our peculiar education, at a country which seems indefinitely remote. To him the siege of Troy is a living reality, and the characters

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of Sophocles, Æschylus, and Euripides, are all embodied. He shares in every passion which they feel, for he is a spectator of their sufferings; their joys, their deliverance, relieve him from a distress almost as real as if he had been their contemporary. To him they are living beings, acting their appropriate part on the great theatre of life; to us they are but spectres, dimly seen through the night of ages, and flittering before us in forms so indistinct, as to leave few traces of their existence upon our memories. This is not fancy; it is no Utopian system of education, but one which has long existed in Germany.' p. 390.

In the gymnasia as in the universities, instruction is much subdivided. They have from eight to twelve instructers, each with a separate department. Two or three teach, exclusively, Latin or Greek; for he who lectures on the grammatical construction is not thought to have time enough to go into the exegetical part of the explanation. Scholars of the greatest merit have dwelt during a large portion of their lives in these preparatory schools, and many of them have declined the flattering call to a wider influence, greater fame, and more emolument, as professors in the most celebrated universities.

We hasten to what may be considered the most curious part of Mr Dwight's work on Northern Germany,—the state of religion, and the influence of the several philosophical systems, which, since Kant, have found ardent followers in that country. An unbelieving clergy,—Lutheran and Protestant ministers, who generally deny the authenticity of the Old, and some of whom contest even the veracity of the New Testament, are certainly a phenomenon, worthy of some consideration, as well in its origin, as in its influence on the political condition of the community at large.

The great distinctive characteristic of the Reformation, in England and Germany, is, that in the latter country the church remained independent of the state, no political tie binding them together, although the Protestant princes reserved to themselves a *share* in the nomination to the ministerial offices, a superintendence over the schools and theological studies, and a sort of administrative interference in clerical matters. But in fact the Lutheran and Protestant churches enjoyed a more complete independence than the general character of the political institutions and the principles of government might have seemed to warrant; and being in a great degree abandoned to themselves, the maintenance, relaxation, or developement of the doctrines of the new churches, depended almost

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entirely on their native strength, and their compatibility with the continued advancement of society in philosophical investigations.

Melancthon had been zealous in reviving the study of the Greek, and Luther had made successful efforts to extend that of the Latin in the elementary schools. The impulse thus received from these great men, served to create and to maintain for some time a unity in religious matters, freer than that which existed in countries where the Catholic religion was exclusive, and still apt to impede a too eccentric flight from primitive tenets and principles. But the progress of Calvinism, and the licentiousness that ever accompanies wars (from which those of religion are by no means exempted), soon begot reciprocal asperity between the contending parties, by which the cause of each suffered as much as the reputation of their leaders, and gradually produced a general lukewarmness and indifference in religion.

A large portion of Protestant Germany was in this latter condition towards the middle of the seventeenth century. Spener appeared, and soon became, by his catechetical lectures, his writings, and plays, not less than from the persecutions he suffered, the head of a religious party, which really had at heart the revival of religion, and was neither inglorious nor unsuccessful in its efforts. They wanted a name, and if the adversaries they had to contend with gave them that of *Pietists*, they might have felt regret at not having inscribed it themselves on their banners, for piety was really their impulse and its resuscitation their aim. The university of Halle was established through the exertions of Spener; but the exegetical lectures on the Bible, which were delivered in that institution, might have led any observer, endowed with some foresight, to prophecy great latitudinarianism as an inevitable consequence of such investigations and such commentaries upon scriptural truth, almost unlimited and unrestrained as they were by any political or ecclesiastical authority, whose duty it would have been to be constantly intent on the preservation of certain doctrines, principles, and forms. Thus scepticism sprung up in the vicinity of numerous sects; and our author does not exaggerate the religious state of Prussia in saying (page 402), that "in no country except France, that ever received the name of Christian, has unbelief exerted a more extended influence; in no one has it reigned with a more absolute sway."

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Yet in Prussia, as in all countries where political power is without the control of free institutions, the government, although less clearly and less constitutionally invested than in England, or in Catholic kingdoms, with an ecclesiastical supremacy, interfered deeply in the religious opinions of its subjects; and at the epoch to which we allude, its bias was to encourage unbelief. The appointment to the academical chairs would alone have been a powerful auxiliary in paving the way to that end. But Frederick the Great, by his victories as well as by the example of his personal conduct, the distinctions which he bestowed upon the French philosophers of his time, and the willingness with which he seemed to follow anti-monarchical opinions, lent additional means to lessen the influence of religion. If he can be suspected of any selfishness in pursuing such a system, it must be only by supposing that his vanity blinded him in regard to the interests of his ambition. Most certainly his power as a monarch could not gain much by his triumph as a disciple of a rising and aspiring philosophic school. Under these auspices, Kant, a greater admirer of Hume than of any of the sages of France, brought forward his *Critique of Pure Reason*, and a great portion of Germany espoused his principles more from religious unbelief, than from a conviction of the soundness of his logic. Though there was as wide a difference between the existing religious creeds and that philosophy, as between the belief of Socrates and the mythology of the Greeks, yet there was perhaps as much harmony between the private religious opinions and the philosophy of both epochs.

The popularity which, after a short neglect, the sage of Königsberg acquired, encouraged him to declare more clearly his views with regard to Christianity. However, his *Religion within the Limits of Reason*, to which Mr Dwight ascribes the triumph of having definitively withdrawn the clergy of Protestant Germany from a belief in the inspiration of the Old Testament, was not long permitted to circulate. But it could not be expected that the effect it was intended to produce, would be arrested by its prohibition, when public opinion chimed in with its spirit and tendency, and helped to extend its influence. A cautious examination of the historical portion of Scripture was all that Kant seemed, at the outset, to ask from his followers as well as from his antagonists. Although he found in Schulze, a professor of the Göttingen uni-

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versity, a strong adversary, his system lost more of the ascendancy it at one time enjoyed, by its half-partisans, than by its absolute opponents. The idealism of Fichte, the internal revelation of Jacobi, the pantheism of Schelling, followed, and struggled with each other, so as to prevent the exclusive sway of the first real German philosophy since that of Leibnitz; and they agreed, or rather concurred, in nothing so much as in weakening any system that might be in accordance with a belief in the inspiration of Scripture. At the same time biblical criticism was more and more studied. Ernesti published his Hermeneutics, and we must content ourselves in this place with bringing to the recollection of our readers only his name and those of Semler, Michaëlis, and Eichhorn. By degrees the authenticity of the Epistles of the New Testament was assailed, and afterwards that of the Gospels. The orthodox of the Protestant Church proceeded like the Catholics, thinking themselves secure behind the bulwark of long revered doctrines, and deeming themselves the stronger on account of the diversity of parties into which the host of their adversaries was split, they remained lukewarm in their own defence. Besides, the *Neologists* (for so were the sceptics called at one time) avoided professing their principles in the pulpit, by seldom preaching doctrinal sermons; and the great bulk of the people seemed indifferent to a sceptical system, which none had the hardihood to make acceptable to the vicious and the incautious, by such profligate means as were employed in France to *kill the beast* (in the infamous language of Voltaire), and to corrupt the heart by perverting the imagination.

But security, founded upon such grounds, must at length necessarily have proved deceitful, even if the revolutionary armies of France had not brought into Germany the pestilential seeds of their demoralization. From their first appearance in that country, till the time that German valor, and the innate honesty which is associated with it, drove back those political and moral foes to the walls of their proud Babylon, religion had no other supporter in Germany than general misery. When the measure of that terrible searcher of the human heart became full, the public mind, bowed down to earth by long misfortunes and in an almost hopeless state, began again to soar towards heaven with aspirations for pardon, as well as with prayers for deliverance. In the midst of such emotions of deep and solemn feeling, an undefined and irregular re-

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ligious belief would have been but too quick and too natural a growth, even among a people less inclined than the Germans to reveries and mystery.

German mysticism has been scoffed at enough, but its exculpating circumstances have not been sufficiently taken into account, although its favorable consequences on the national concerns are generally acknowledged. The Prussian government availed itself of this propensity of the time with much discernment, and it is creditable to the sagacity of the rulers, that they did not permit themselves to be blinded to the fatal results, which such a dreaming and shadowy religion would have produced, if it had not been restrained as soon as the hour of danger was past. Otherwise Germany might have sunk into a poetical theology like that of Hesiod, which would, in fact, have brought about anew absolute materialism. Such a moral condition reminds one of the situation of Greece from the time of Pythagoras to Socrates. The school of sophists was certainly, at no epoch, so near being revived, as at the one of which we treat. The same fate, which their baneful influence brought on the Grecian governments, would have attended that of Prussia. But Frederick William lost no time in stemming a current so dangerous, not only to his monarchical power, but to all that had prospered under its shade for more than a century and a half. The first firm ground upon which his counsellors endeavored to anchor, was a union of the Lutheran and Protestant Churches into one, called the Evangelical Church. To this were added the prescription of a liturgy, and the visitation of four episcopal sees. It it not perhaps necessary to exhibit a stronger evidence of the religious latitudinarianism and relaxation which prevailed in that country, than the attempt, in a great degree crowned with success, of a government to effect, by a simple royal decree, such an immense revolution,—a revolution for which other nations would have bled for half a century. However, the liturgy met with opposition from a portion of the clergy as well as from the people. Until a very recent epoch, the public mind was still much agitated, although with no symptoms of a dangerous paroxysm. But in such a state of things, we are more inclined than our author to consider with indulgence the delay or the hesitation of the Prussian government in establishing the free institutions it has promised to its subjects. At least we think time may be fairly asked for the public mind to settle it

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self in regard to questions and interests of a more delicate nature, and of more vital importance, than most of the practical concerns of life.

In addition to these difficulties, arising from the peculiar moral and religious situation of Prussia, a great though we trust not an invincible political obstacle is thrown in the way of a reformation of its government, on the basis of what is usually termed a free constitution, by the complex character of its aristocracy. Its nobility includes, we believe, from thirty to forty ancient members of the Empire, who, on the score of their great landed property, and the place they hold in public opinion, are well qualified to be the component parts of a House of Peers. But how could that branch of the legislature be filled up to a degree corresponding to the number of the inferior branch, in a country where a large proportion of the population, though possessing all the rights and the moral *prestige* of a patrician order, is separated from it by its poverty and its consequent dependence on the government. Four bishops and the princes of the royal family would be a very insufficient addition to the thirty or forty peers before mentioned. A similar difficulty existed in Spain, where the grandees are at most eighty in number. Many of the Constitutionalists, who endeavored honestly to rebuild, in 1813, at Cadiz, the political fabric of their country, acquiesced, with a sort of despair from that circumstance, in the formation of the Cortes as a single house.

We have neither time nor space nor go into a further view of the embarrassments in which the Prussian government seems to be involved, and which may serve as an excuse for the dilatoriness, on account of which Mr Dwight professes that he is prevented 'from respecting the king,' notwithstanding his excellent qualities and his paternal government. We may, on a future occasion, add some light to the information furnished by this author (page 216) on the provincial assemblies of Prussia (a first step in the constitutional career of the country), and by Mr Russell on the fortunate changes, produced in the condition of the agricultural class by the royal edict of 1810.

For the present, we must content ourselves with recommending Mr Dwight's Travels in the North of Germany, as a work containing many valuable details, not unmingled, however, with mistakes, which a longer residence, a closer observation, or more preparatory study, might have enabled a foreign tourist to avoid.

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ART. VI.—*The American Jurist.* No. I. Boston. January. 1829.

THE history of the law in this country may be properly divided into three several epochs. The first, from the settlement until the charter of 1692. The second, from that period to the time of the Revolution; and the third, from the year 1780 to the present time.

During the first of these periods, the government, both executive and judicial, was what might truly be called *primitive*. No trace can be found of law as a science or profession. The judges left the ploughed field for the bench, when occasion called, and found reason and common sense a very sufficient substitute for the Pandects or Year Books. In the piety of their hearts they adopted the law of Moses for their criminal code, and in civil litigation the common law of England was made, as far as their slender means of information would permit, the rule of their decision. Frequently the separate functions of a judge and jury were attempted to be exercised; but even then a judge of modern date would have been shocked at the encroachments of a jury upon the province of the law, and perhaps amused to see a juryman exercise the right, then conferred upon him by legislative enactment, of consulting with any bystander.

The clergy possessed, as in England, much of the legal knowledge of the community, and therefore we early find, that difficult legal points were referred to their decision, much as the legislatures refer such questions to the judiciary under the provisions of the state constitutions. We have reason not only to be thankful that the clergy of that day did not make an improper use of the power thus necessarily put into their hands, but also that there is no necessity of trying the experiment at the present day. Perhaps no incident more forcibly proves the correct principles of our forefathers than the fact, that, when the outrageous conduct of Sir Edmund Andros had roused the people from their natural peacefulness, when the royal authority was set at defiance by the confinement of its representative, and when, in fact, all law had ceased to exist, then it was found that *no law was wanted*, and in the midst of revolution and violence we discover no symptoms of riot or outrage.

The second epoch of our law commenced with the reception

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of the charter, which followed the seizure of Sir Edmund Andros. It was received in 1692. Although the revolutionary spirit displayed by the colonists was in strict accordance with the proceedings of the mother country at the same period, still it was by no means desirable, that the same power should be again exercised. The charter, therefore, now received, while it pretended to make full provision for the preservation of justice, at once reduced the colony to the condition of a subjected province, and thus, while it assumed the air of protecting the rights of each individual, in fact aimed a blow at the civil rights of all.

By this charter, the governor, as representative of the royal prerogative, had the power of a *veto* upon the appointment of the judges; all laws made in the colonial assembly were to be sent to England for approval, and all civil causes, above three hundred pounds, were to be carried to England by appeal for adjudication. Seven years after, in 1699, an act was passed, which received the royal approbation, and which established a Supreme Judicial Court with five judges, a Court of Common Pleas for civil actions, and a Court of General Sessions of the Peace, with another Court of concurrent jurisdiction for criminal matters. It is worthy of remark, that with all the various modifications and revolutions through which this country has passed since that period, the general outline of a judicial establishment here presented, has been in a great measure still preserved. That the judges retained their offices only during the pleasure of the king or his deputy, was the most prominent feature of servitude, and one which is now, happily for us, totally abolished. No principle can be more sure, than that by the independence of the judge is the freedom of the people secured. That great and wise man, the late President Jefferson, once thought differently, and in his zeal to uphold the rights of the people, would have put it in their power to prostrate the majesty of justice. Now that party spirit on this subject has long since subsided, and the excellence of a permanent bench, removable only by impeachment, has been proved, we believe that even the most zealous partisans of that doctrine will subscribe to the opposite opinion.

To render this office perfectly independent, it should not only be held during good behavior, but also the salary should be fixed and permanent. The want of such a provision in

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the state of Kentucky, enabled the legislature (which could find no good ground for impeachment when they wished for a removal) to fix the salary at twenty-five cents, and thus compel the incumbent to resign.

Even at this late period, in the year 1699, at the very time when judicial authority seemed by legislative enactment to have been settled on a firm basis, we find an instance of the power and influence exercised by the clergy in matters not considered at the present day within their control or supervision. In May, 1699, the question of the legality of lotteries was referred to the opinion of the clergy, and in Mather's Magnalia we have preserved to us a copy of their judgment.

Previous to the conflicts of the pen, which led to the subsequent conflicts of the Revolution, no name stands forth distinguished in the halls of justice but that of Reed; and even he, though no doubt possessing naturally a mind of rare strength, seems to 'glimmer unknown like an unseen star.' To the period of the revolution, the highest recommendation was *vir insignis pietate*, and all the talent of the young colony was devoted exclusively to the pulpit. The political struggle with the mother country was wanted to call forth the latent energies of the lawyer and the statesman.

The last period in the judicial history of New England includes its darkest and brightest hours. The disgraceful scenes of Shay's insurrection, as it was termed, in 1785, 1786, while they were the natural result of the late struggle and exertions of our countrymen, at the same time exhibited the wisdom and strength of our legal and political institutions. Nothing, perhaps, but the firmness of the Senate of the state preserved our whole system of law and government from being trampled under foot by the unprincipled Jack-Cades of that day. It is with a justifiable pride that we contemplate the progress of the science from that time to the present. The United States, freed from the restrictions of colonial subjection, almost immediately sprang up into the full maturity of a commercial nation. With commerce came a host of contracts, maritime and domestic; an increase of the value of land gave rise to greater nicety in the examination of titles, and all tended to produce important questions, frequently involving intricate points of legal science. Above all, the wisdom of the people was shown in that liberal provision for the support of the

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bench, which was sure to command talents requisite to give dignity and weight to the decisions of the judges.

It was not, however, until 1804, that a regular and systematic series of Reports was commenced in Massachusetts; and although previous to that time many points were mooted and opinions delivered, which would have been well worth preserving, still the minutes of them were so few and loose, that no great reliance can be placed upon any but those few which have been added, in the Supplements, to the regular Reports.

This series of Reports, commenced in 1804, has been continued by private enterprise and legislative patronage to the present day; and the cases therein stated have been seldom surpassed, either in the wisdom of their decisions and the soundness of their reasoning, or the fidelity with which the reporter's duty has been discharged.

As an omen of much good promise in the progress of the law, we hail with pleasure the appearance of 'The Jurist.' The reasons which led to its establishment are set forth in a short and luminous preface; and did the work thus far possess no other merit, than that of giving to the world the 'Address,' which forms the first article, it must be allowed to have accomplished a valuable end.

In the first number are contained, besides the Address delivered before the Members of the Suffolk Bar, in 1821, by Mr Justice Story, an able discussion of the advantages that would result from a national bankrupt law, and of the causes which have hitherto prevented its establishment; a comprehensive review of the law of real property, pointing out some of the peculiarities which exist in the various states upon this very intricate branch of legal erudition; a few interesting questions of insurance discussed and settled, with an exhibition of profound knowledge and research in commercial law; a short sketch of the character and writings of Sir William Blackstone; a review of Livermore's Dissertations upon International Law; some remarks upon the admissibility of the testimony of Quakers; a memoir of Judge Trimble; a short review of the laws upon literary property, and the questions arising thereon; and, in conclusion, a review of Peters's Reports for 1828. It contains also a quarterly list of the new legal publications.

This is a good choice of subjects. The purpose of Mr

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Justice Story's Address briefly is to 'offer some general considerations touching the past and present state of the common law, and to suggest some hints as to its future prospects in our own country.' In doing this the learned judge is led to speak upon one or two topics of a peculiarly interesting nature. The first has somewhat of an appalling aspect.

'There are now twenty-four states in the union,' says he, 'in all of which, except Louisiana, the common law is the acknowledged basis of their jurisprudence. Yet this jurisprudence, partly by statute, partly by judicial interpretations, and partly by local usages and peculiarities, is perpetually receding further and further from the common standard. While the states retain their independent sovereignties, as they must continue to do under our federative system, it is hopeless to expect that any greater uniformity will exist in the future than in the past. Nor do I know, that so far as domestic happiness and political convenience are concerned, a greater uniformity would in most respects be desirable. The task, however, of administering justice in the state as well as national courts, from the new and peculiar relations of our system, must be very laborious and perplexing; and the conflict of opinion upon general questions of law in the rival jurisdictions of the different states, will not be less distressing to the philosophical jurist than to the practical lawyer.' p. 13.

The inconveniences arising from these diversities would seem to be of a nature not only to trouble the lawyer and the court, but to render the commercial and trading part of the community liable to perpetual mistakes, losses, and vexations. As the means of internal communication with other states daily increase, a host of contracts, debts, liabilities, and transfers spring up. The means of securing debts, transferring real and personal property, and enforcing agreements in one state, become interesting to the inhabitants of other states who may transact business there. A few instances will show the diversities, and illustrate the uncertainties, to which we allude. *Estates tail* exist in New Hampshire with all their entanglements, as in England. In Vermont, Indiana, Illinois, and Louisiana, they never had any existence. In New York, Ohio, Connecticut, New Jersey, Virginia, North Carolina, Missouri, Tennessee, Kentucky, Mississippi, and Alabama, they have either been converted into fee simple or absolutely abolished by statute; though in New Jersey, Connecticut, Alabama, and Mississippi, an estate tail can exist during the lives of donees then existing. In Maine, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Penn-

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sylvania, Delaware, and Maryland, they may be barred by a regularly acknowledged deed; and also in the last four, by a nearly obsolete form of fine and common recovery. So much for the diversities of title to land simply in regard to one species of tenure; sufficient, however, to render the transfer very unsafe to a person not perfectly conversant with the law of the state, or the situation of the title to the property.

Nothing can be imagined more various and diversified than the laws relating to the descent of estates, the right of representation, and the process of transfer. Thus, in the simple matter of *recording*, observe the differences, altogether arbitrary in themselves, and puzzling to the citizens of other states. In Tennessee, recording is necessary to make a deed valid even between the original parties. It is void, as it respects subsequent purchasers, for a good consideration and without notice, in Indiana, Illinois, Georgia, and Tennessee, unless it is recorded within twelve months from date; in Virginia and Kentucky, unless within eight months; in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and South Carolina, unless recorded within six months; in Missouri, Alabama, and Mississippi, unless within three months; and in New Jersey, fifteen days.

These few instances, selected at random, are sufficient to show that the evil is by no means an imaginary one, and, what is of still farther moment, it is growing. Each particular state government, proud of its independence, legislates entirely for itself, with little regard to the laws or regulations already in force in other states. And so far from having uniformity in view, we have even heard it gravely argued by a member of one of the state legislatures, that 'it was no reason why they should make a law because New York had;' and this wise remark went far, we suppose, to convince the Solomons in legislation, that variety in law-making was a proof of independence.

In many points, we acknowledge, that to attempt arriving at absolute uniformity, would be to attempt an impossibility. Such, for instance, is the law of tenure. The peculiar manner in which many of the states were originally settled, would entirely preclude this. But even here, many slight alterations tending to the promotion of uniformity might easily be adopted. And in every instance, such as the above respecting the recording of deeds, where the diversities are purely arbitrary, great benefit might result from alterations in favor of general similarity. It would be well for us, if the members of our

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state legislatures, who seem annually to tax their inventive powers to find new subjects of legislation, would think a little more seriously of this matter. With their best endeavors, success will be but partial. The several state judicatories, a little jealous perhaps of their independence, although they admit the decisions of other courts to be cited, as they would the Pandects, simply as the opinion of wise men, yet being bound to follow their own *better judgment*, decide frequently in flat contradiction to their neighbors. Thus the statute of frauds, so nearly similar in many states, and copied in many from the same great original, has still been subject to numerous constructions differing most materially in very essential points.

Another important topic, and one closely connected with this last, is thus alluded to by the learned Justice.

'The mass of the law is, to be sure, accumulating with an almost incredible rapidity, and with the accumulation the labor of students, as well as professors, is seriously augmented. It is impossible to look without some discouragement upon the ponderous volumes which the next half century will add to the groaning shelves of our jurists. The habits of generalization, which will be acquired and perfected by the liberal studies which I have ventured to recommend, will do something to avert the fearful calamity which threatens us, of being buried alive, not in the catacombs, but in the labyrinths of the law. I know indeed but of one adequate remedy, and that is, by a gradual digest, under legislative authority, of those portions of our jurisprudence, which, under the forming hand of the judiciary, shall from time to time acquire scientific accuracy. By thus reducing to a text the exact principles of the law, we shall, in a great measure, get rid of the necessity of appealing to volumes which contain jarring and discordant opinions; and thus we may pave the way to a general code, which will present in its positive and authoritative text, the most material rules to guide the lawyer, the statesman, and the private citizen. It is obvious, that such a digest can apply only to the law, as it has been applied to human concerns in past times; but by revision, at distant periods, it may be made to reflect all the light which intermediate decisions may have thrown upon our jurisprudence. To attempt more than this would be a hopeless labor, if not an absurd project. We ought not to permit ourselves to indulge in the theoretical extravagances of some well meaning philosophical jurists, who believe that all human concerns for the future can be provided for in a code speaking a definite language. Sufficient for us will be the achievement to reduce the past to order and certainty; and that this is within our reach cannot be matter of doubtful speculation.' p. 31.

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Thus it appears, that the learned Justice, in accordance with many others, believes that much of this increasing evil can be remedied by comprehensive *digests* of the law, as already settled and decided; and he cites, with his characteristic enthusiam, the beneficial result of the Digest of Justinian and the Code Napoléon. That these two great bodies of legal learning have been of much service to mankind, there can be no doubt; but we should hesitate to say, that they had fully attained the expected end. No sooner were they published, than they became the subjects of litigation. Various constructions and differing interpretations were attempted to be put upon them; commentaries were written upon disputed passages; the old original laws and opinions, from which these digests had been compiled, were dragged forth to elucidate the meaning of the digested text; and the evils of dispute, necessary research, and accumulated volumes were but little, if at all, diminished.

How is such an evil (for it is confessedly an evil) to be remedied? Within the last twenty-five years there have been published, probably in the United States alone, upwards of two hundred volumes of Reports; besides treatises upon individual portions of the law, Dane's voluminous and rather ill arranged Digest, and Chancellor Kent's valuable elementary treatise upon the whole body of American law. Could it not be effected, in a measure, by applying the remedy to the reports, perhaps to the opinions themselves? When a case is now argued, we do not have an opinion upon the points of law arising from the circumstances of the case, but a *treatise* upon the branch of law under which the case happens to fall, crowded with *dicta*, which sometimes the very judge who delivers them would subsequently, upon further consideration, be very unwilling to support. All that is necessary to form a perfect report could frequently be comprised in about one half of the space usually occupied at the present day.

Sir James Burrow was perhaps as fine a model for a reporter, as Lord Mansfield was for a judge. In Burrow's Reports, the facts upon which the point of law arose, were briefly stated, the positions taken by the counsel, and then the clear, brief, and satisfactory opinion of the court. Seldom has the complaint of being unsatisfactory been made against these Reports; seldom have these opinions been overruled, or even the few *dicta* therein contained, been rejected as unsound law.

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We have ventured thus much upon a subject of somewhat a delicate nature, being impressed with the belief, that now is the time to attempt a remedy of these evils. The period when antiquity was the refuge-shrine for every barbarous custom or hoary-headed abuse, is coming rapidly to a close. The word *reform*, once the watchword of sedition and anarchy, is now returning to its legitimate meaning, and breathes a spirit of improvement, not of mere innovation. It comes now, not from the lips of demagogues and factious tribunes, but from lovers of order and disinterested statesmen; not from a *Catalina studiosus rerum novarum*, but from the patriot anxious to meliorate the condition of his countrymen.

Let it not be imagined, that we fail in respect to the venerable institutions of that country, which has been the mother of our free principles, the model of many of our free institutions. Few of the efforts of modern statesmen and assembled legislators have effected so much, as was achieved by many single acts of older times. The Magna Charta, the division of the courts under Edward the First, and the trial by jury, are each and all of them fair columns erected by antiquity to support the mighty fabric of the British constitution. But we are not bound, through our respect for these institutions, to reverence their worse than useless appendages; and thus, while we esteem the trial by jury as the bulwark of our liberties, we see no reason to perpetuate the trial by *battel* for its kindred's sake. It is not, therefore, so much that we are desirous of change, for the sake of experiment, as it is that we are desirous of seeing the primitive simplicity of many things restored. We wish to see institutions, courts, laws, and customs, which time and the progress of society have rendered useless, made again beneficial. Ruins are indeed venerable for their antiquity, but if we are to dwell in them, we can hardly be blamed, if we repair the dilapidated roof. In this wide field of law, therefore, we rejoice to witness the healthful aspect of the spirit of reform, now so general among the well informed and learned of England, as well as of the United States.

Since writing the foregoing remarks, the second and third numbers of this work have issued from the press. We rejoice in their appearance, not merely on account of the intrinsic merit of the work, and the many useful essays and notices which it contains, but as an earnest of the zeal and determination of its conductors, and as an indication of that de-

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gree of patronage which is likely to insure its continuance. It is quite impossible, in this brief notice, to point out particularly, or even to enumerate the contents of these additional numbers. It is sufficient to say, in the aggregate, that they afford additional evidence of the liberal and truly national spirit, in which this work is to be conducted. This is as it should be. A periodical work, like the one under consideration, prosecuted upon any other principles, must soon come to an end. But we think there is no country on earth, in which a well conducted periodical journal, devoted to jurisprudence and legislation, is more likely to be at once popular and useful. The United States may be considered now, as in the forming period of their character, in regard to the all important subject of their laws. The courts of justice and the halls of legislation are alike open to any and every change which can be satisfactorily shown to be an improvement. But judges and legislators have not now to learn, that mere change is not improvement; and speculation and projects of reform, however specious, will receive slight encouragement from either, unless sanctioned by reason and experience, and supported by the powerful aid of enlightened public opinion. To reconcile the conflicting views, and direct to a common point the labors and experience of various minds, widely spread over an extensive country, and to bring them to any thing like a union of thought and of action, nothing can be better adapted than a well established journal, sufficiently elevated and permanent in its character to invite and preserve the profound and ingenious speculations of the student, and the more mature deliberations of the cautious and experienced civilian, and at the same time sufficiently various and diffusive in its topics to excite the interest and command the attention of every part of the Union.

These hopes and this character, we confidently anticipate, the American Jurist will realize and sustain, if it shall continue to be conducted with the learning, judgment, and ability, which it has thus far displayed. We think it well suited to diffuse useful information, to excite the favorable interest and regard of these states to the subjects to which it is devoted; and we therefore earnestly hope, that it will be extensively read, as well as cordially welcomed, by all the friends of American Jurisprudence.

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ART. VII.—*The Annals of America, from the Discovery by Columbus in the Year* 1492, *to the Year* 1826. By ABIEL HOLMES, D. D. Second Edition. 8vo. 2 vols. Cambridge. Hilliard & Brown.

THIS new edition of the American Annals, with such improvements as the author has introduced into it, we consider among the most valuable productions of the American press. The work gained high favor on its first publication. It was reprinted in England, and was not less approved by the learned and judicious in that country, than in this. In fact the author had adopted a plan somewhat novel, and suited to attract the attention, as well as to satisfy the inquiries of those persons, who are curious in historical research. He has aimed at a middle course between the dry and barren track of rigid chronology, and the more seducing pathway of popular narrative and general history. The models, to which he approaches the nearest, are probably Grotius, in his Annals of the Low Countries, and Hénault, in his *Nouvel Abrégé Chronologique de l'Histoire de France;* yet our American Annalist differs in some important respects from these great exemplars. If he does not ascend to the high philosophy and historical majesty of the former, nor attempt the style of sprightly anecdote, which has contributed so much to the popularity of the latter, his plan nevertheless embraces other features more congenial perhaps to the nature of his subject, and growing more naturally out of the materials from which his work was to be constructed.

In the first place, Dr Holmes lays down as the basis of his plan a strict chronological method, never deviating from a determined adherence to a consecutive order of dates. He thus presents in the natural chain of occurrences an outline of the principal events, which have happened each year in America, from the day in which Columbus sailed on his first voyage of discovery to the new world, down to the death of Adams and Jefferson, on the memorable jubilee of our national independence. Here is the entire period of American history, comprising a space of three hundred and thirty-three years, of which two hundred and twenty have elapsed since the first settlement in Virginia, and two hundred and six since the Pilgrim voyagers in the Mayflower stepped upon the '*Forefathers' Rock*' in Plymouth. By the author's chronological method,

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he is able to pursue this thread of history almost from day to day, and to trace the fortunes of every hero, the first springs and progress of political incidents, the increasing strength and prosperity of the people, and the ever-varying changes of their social condition. We are carried along in the natural train of events, where all the objects worthy of our attention are pointed out to us, and we are then left to philosophize, speculate, censure, or applaud, as our humor may prompt, or as the nature of the subject may seem to require. The annalist keeps close to his purpose of telling us what has happened, and in the order in which it happened, without informing us what should have been, or entertaining us with dissertations on causes and consequences, or professing to have any deep wisdom in detecting the hidden policy of rulers, or the mysteries of local and general politics. All these topics he turns over to the historian, the philosopher, the moralist, and to those who dream about men and things, build theories, and dwell in castles of the air. In the American Annals it is the author's exclusive object to embody *facts*, drawn from what he deems the best authorities, and selected according to the mature light of his judgment. In this aim he seems to us eminently successful, especially when it is considered through what a vast field he has ranged, and what difficulties he must have encountered in collecting his materials and fixing his choice.

These remarks are applicable to the text of Dr Holmes's work, but in their spirit they may be extended also to the notes, which are copious and interesting; they throw much light on the text, from which, although they contain matter of relative moment, they are very judiciously separated. An opportunity is thus given, without breaking in upon the thread of events, to add many particulars not less important, frequently more curious, and illustrative of the main subject. In a history of a wider design we should reverse the rule, and banish notes as unwelcome intruders upon the quiet tenor of our thoughts, while moving along in the current of the writer's narrative, or even pursuing him into his reflections and reveries. The point and wit of Gibbon are but a poor compensation for the perpetual interruption to his readers in wandering from the text to the margin, and from the margin to the text. Simple references are more allowable, because the reader goes on without regarding them; but when there is a provoking note at the bottom, which may or may not contain something to the

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purpose, curiosity assumes its ascendency, and down the eye drops in search of something to gratify it, while the mind is withdrawn from the subject in which it was deeply engaged, and bewildered with another set of ideas, which serve only to embarrass the train of thought, and make the reader dissatisfied with himself for his want of resolution in not shutting his eyes to the false allurements of the margin. It requires more firmness than most readers possess to resist such a temptation; and therefore writers of history should, out of pure compassion, if for no other motive, be as sparing as possible of their notes; and when such an infliction is absolutely necessary, it should be transferred to the closing pages of the volume, where the labor of search will commonly restrain the impulse of curiosity, till the mind is sufficiently at rest to be profited by it. The only purpose of notes, that of authority and illustration, will thus be fully answered, and in the way best suited to the convenience and comfort of the reader.

Dr Holmes's method and design make his work an entire exception to this rule. His notes are indeed an integral part of the page, and often quite as essential as the text. The narrative is necessarily broken at every step, by introducing collateral events in the order of time, although they happened at different places. The particulars in the notes are intended to illustrate and explain these events in their various relations, and to designate the sources from which other and more full information respecting them may be obtained; but this could not be done in the text, without deranging the chronological method adopted and rigidly pursued by the author. The notes derive another very high value from the minuteness of the references contained in them, and the citations of all the most approved authorities on American history. We believe it may be safely affirmed, that there is no important point in this history, especially in regard to North America, which is not touched upon by Dr Holmes, and concerning which he has not cited such writers as will enable any inquirer to pursue his investigations to the lengths he may choose, with directness and facility. The notes are also frequently enlivened by pithy extracts, which, if they have not all the liveliness of the anecdotes of Hénault, are strongly characteristic of the quaint style of our ancestors, and the manners of their times.

The Annals are divided into three parts, each embracing a definite period in the history of the New Continent. *First*,

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European Discoveries and Settlements. *Secondly*, British American Colonies. *Thirdly*, The United States of America. The first of these periods, extending from the discovery by Columbus till the settlement of Virginia, contains one hundred and fifteen years; the second, comprising our whole colonial history, and ending with the declaration of independence, is one hundred and sixty-nine years; the third is fifty years.

In his sketch of the European discoveries the author gives a brief account of all the voyagers from Europe, who visited the New World during the period in question. Concerning Columbus and his associates, he has derived new matter from the recent publications of Spotorno in Genoa, and Navarrete in Madrid. Both of these writers have made essential contributions of original materials for a history of the life and acts of Columbus. The first volume of Dr Holmes's work was printed, we believe, before Mr Irving's Life of Columbus appeared from the press. Except these publications, it would not appear that modern research has brought much to light illustrative of the history of American discoveries. Something more may be expected from Navarrete's promised continuation of his work, should his already advanced life be protracted long enough to enable him to accomplish his undertaking. But it must be confessed, that, of all the countries in the world, Spain is the one from which the least is to be hoped at present for the encouragement of literature and knowledge.* Navarrete

* Two or three years ago, an American gentleman in Madrid translated into the Spanish language Mr Irving's *Rip Van Winkle*, introducing such changes in the names and local usages as would adapt it to the Spanish taste. When the performance was finished, it was sent to the censor for his inspection. He soon returned it with his injunction, that it should not be printed. The translator, unable to conceive what objection there could be against it, called on the censor, and had a long conversation with him on the subject. When his reason for suppressing the translation was asked, he replied, that he did not fully understand the purport of the piece, but it was sufficiently obvious, that some secret political meaning was concealed in it, which was designed to produce an effect on the people. When assured that this was a misapprehension on his part, he demanded abruptly what then could be its object. He was told, that it was simply a tale of imagination, designed for amusement by a combination of ingenious incidents and exhibition of character. He professed himself unable to perceive any utility in such a work, and ended by saying, that if it had no political meaning, it was certainly a useless composition, from which the public could derive no benefit, and therefore would sustain no loss by its suppression.

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is, nevertheless, a man of enlightened mind, and the king must have due praise for the liberal assistance afforded by him, in aiding Navarrete to publish, in a handsome style, the two first volumes of his *Coleccion de los Viages y Descubrimientos*. Four years have passed, and nothing is yet heard of the succeeding volumes.

To Purchas and Hakluyt we are still indebted, as were our ancestors two hundred years ago, for almost all the knowledge which we possess respecting the early discoveries in America. Las Casas, Peter Martyr, Bernal Diaz, Herrera, and other Spanish writers are copious, and generally esteemed accurate in regard to South America. Of these Dr Holmes has made frequent and important use. Spain also contains many unpublished documents on this subject, but it is not likely that original materials of any value can be found either in Portugal, France, or England.* Had such existed in the two latter countries, they would certainly have been discovered and brought to light before the present day. We may except, perhaps, the manuscripts of the early French Jesuists, supposed still to be in existence. It is a singular circumstance, that although the four principal early discoverers, namely, Columbus, Verrazzano, Cabot, and Vesputius, were Italians by birth, yet no power in Italy ever obtained possession of a single foot of territory in the New World. The Pope, it is true, assumed a sort of control over the whole, by taking it upon himself to draw the dividing line between the Spanish and Portuguese possessions; but this was an empty control, inasmuch as it never resulted in any benefit to himself or his temporal subjects.

The author's second part begins with the romantic adventures and remarkable fortunes of Captain Smith in Virginia.

Twelve hundred years ago the Saracen Omar burnt the library of Alexandria, because he considered the Koran the only book worth being preserved.

* Mr Obadiah Rich has collected in Spain a large number of most valuable Spanish manuscripts and books on the history of South America, which he has offered for sale to Congress. It is to be hoped that this rare collection, gathered by long research and under the most favorable circumstances, will be secured for the Congress library. Indeed no pains should be spared to procure for that national depository a copy of every book and manuscript in existence relating to America. It is an object worthy of the nation's solicitude and munificence.

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The settlement on James River was the first event in the history of the British American Colonies. To this branch of his subject, embracing the period between the settlement in Virginia and the termination of our colonial dependence, Dr Holmes has evidently given very great attention. The embarrassments, troubles, and sufferings of the first settlers; the progress of social organization and political establishments; the wars with Indians and traits of Indian character; the evidences of the love of freedom and jealousy of their rights, which marked the acts of our forefathers,—all these are detailed with a minuteness and apparent fidelity, which could only have been the result of long and careful research. In one instance, and in one only of much importance, that we have discovered, Dr Holmes appears to have been led astray by his authorities. We refer to the history of Virginia during the Commonwealth in England, and the time of Cromwell.

All writers seem to have been in an error till recently, respecting the history of Virginia under the government of Cromwell. The people have been represented as yielding to the Protector's authority, although with reluctance, and as submitting to governors sent out by him. Moreover, it has been unanimously affirmed by the most accredited writers, that Charles the Second was proclaimed in Virginia, and his standard raised, several months before he was restored in England. The following are the words of Robertson on this subject.

'Under governors appointed by the Commonwealth, or by Cromwell when he usurped the supreme powers, Virginia remained almost nine years in perfect tranquillity. During that period, many adherents to the royal party, and among these some gentlemen of good families, in order to avoid danger and oppression, to which they were exposed in England, or in hopes of repairing their ruined fortunes, resorted thither. Warmly attached to the cause for which they had fought and suffered, and animated with all the passions natural to men recently engaged in a fierce and long protracted civil war, they, by their intercourse with the colonists, confirmed them in principles of loyalty, and added to their impatience and indignation under the restraints imposed on their commerce by their new masters. On the death of Mathews, the last governor named by Cromwell, the sentiments and inclination of the people, no longer under the control of authority, burst out with violence.

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They forced Sir William Berkeley to quit his retirement; they unanimously elected him governor of the colony; and, as he refused to act under a usurped authority, they boldly erected the royal standard, and, acknowledging Charles the Second to be their lawful sovereign, proclaimed him with all his titles; and the Virginians long boasted, that as they were the last of the king's subjects who renounced their allegiance, they were the first who returned to their duty.'—*History of America*, Book ix.

For this statement Robertson quotes Chalmers and others, yet the original and authentic documents, which have been recently published in Mr Hening's *Collection of the Laws of Virginia*, prove it to be almost without a vestige of truth. During the ten years that elapsed (from 1649 to 1660) between the death of Charles the First and the restoration of Charles the Second, no governor of Virginia was appointed in England, either by the Commonwealth or by Cromwell. Four governors were chosen within this space, namely, Richard Bennett, Edward Digges, Samuel Mathews, and Sir William Berkeley; but in each instance they were elected *by the assembly* of the colony, from whom their authority was derived. In truth the government in all its practical operations was *independent*, and in the hands of the people, by whom the representatives to the assembly, or House of Burgesses, were chosen. It was a strictly popular and republican system, carried into effect with as much regularity and precision, as the state of circumstances would admit.

The Virginia records mention the time and manner of choosing the several governors, and the powers with which the assembly considered them invested. The governor's council was also appointed by the assembly, having in some cases first been nominated by the governor. A curious occurrence, which took place in 1658, shows the state of the government at that time. The governor and council, for some reason not explained, ordered a dissolution of the House of Burgesses. The House refused to comply, and denied the power of the governor to dissolve them. A committee reported on the subject as follows. 'We have considered the present constitution of the government of Virginia, and do propose that we find by the records the present power of government to reside in such persons as shall be empowered by the Burgesses, the representatives of the people, who are not dissolvable by any

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power now extant in Virginia, but the House of Burgesses.'—*Hening*, i. 502. Upon this report the Burgesses drew up a declaration setting forth, 'that we have in ourselves the full power of the election and appointment of all officers in this country, until such time as we shall have order to the contrary from the supreme power in England, that we are not dissolvable by any power yet extant in Virginia but our own, that all former election of governor and council be void and null, that the power of governor for the future shall be conferred on Samuel Mathews, who by us shall be invested with all the just rights and privileges belonging to the governor.' This language is very explicit, and admits but of one interpretation. We have here the governor Mathews, whom Robertson mentions, as 'the last named by Cromwell,' but it is proved that he was chosen by the House of Burgesses; nor indeed does it appear that Cromwell ever named any governor at all in Virginia. Mathews was reëlected for a term of two years, but died before this term expired.

The next assembly (March 1659–60) chose Sir William Berkeley governor, precisely in the same manner as they had chosen Mathews. The act specifies, 'that the honorable Sir William Berkeley be governor and captain general of Virginia, according to the ancient laws of England, and the established laws of this country, and that all writs issue in the name of the Grand Assembly of Virginia; that once in two years at least he call a Grand Assembly, or oftener if he see cause; that he have liberty to make choice of a secretary and council of state with the approbation of the Assembly; and that he do not dissolve this Assembly without consent of the major part of the house.' Here is no appearance of 'forcing Sir William Berkeley to quit his retirement,' as expressed by Robertson. All that is said by him and other historians, about 'erecting the royal standard and acknowledging Charles the Second,' is manifestly a fiction. How the story crept into good authors is uncertain. There can be no doubt, however, that the voice of the people in Virginia was decidedly in favor of the restoration, and the readiness with which they acquiesced in the authority of the restored monarch, together with the known leaning of the governor in that direction, may account, in some degree perhaps, for the prevalence of this historical error. The House of Burgesses, in its highest power, never pretended that it was exercising a permanent control, but only a pro-

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visional government, till the state of things in England should become settled, and a regular system established by the supreme head. It is nevertheless true, that during the Commonwealth and Cromwell's ascendency, Virginia was literally an independent state, and practised in their most popular form of representation and legislation the principles of a free government.

A point of history respecting Rhode Island, which is sanctioned by Dr Holmes on the authority of Chalmers and others, has recently excited attention. It is well known, that the colony of Rhode Island, under the memorable Roger Williams, was settled (1636) on the broadest basis of religious toleration, and that the strict letter of the charters, the entire spirit of the legislation, and the uniform practice of the colony, were in accordance with this basis. But in Chalmers's Annals is found the following clause, purporting to be part of an act passed by the assembly in the year 1664,—'that all men of competent estates, and of civil conversation, *Roman Catholics only excepted*, shall be admitted freemen, or may choose or be chosen colonial officers.' Chalmers refers for his authority to the records and documents in the public offices of the English government in London. As this exception of Roman Catholics is so extraordinary a feature in the acts of Rhode Island, which have been renowned for their liberal spirit in regard to religious freedom, the subject has been thought worthy of investigation. Mr Eddy, who was many years secretary of state in Rhode Island, and is deeply versed in its early history, has examined the records with great minuteness, and drawn up an interesting paper with reference to this topic.* The result is, that no clause, *excepting Roman Catholics*, can be found in any act passed in the year above mentioned, nor any allusion to it in the proceedings of the assembly, which he says are entire. Mr Eddy infers, that the quotation, as pertaining to that year, is unsupported by proper authority, and is therefore an error.

He goes on to explain, however, in what manner the laws of Rhode Island were compiled, and prepared for being sent to the mother country. Committees were appointed from time to time to revise and arrange them for this purpose. Till the year 1719 they were sent over in manuscript, but in this year the first edition was printed. A second edition was printed in

* Printed in Mr Walsh's Appeal, p. 429.

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1730, and another in 1745. Mr Eddy had not seen the two first, but in this last the exclusion of Roman Catholics from the privileges of freemen, as mentioned by Chalmers, is contained. No vestige of it had been discovered in any of the records previous to this date, and Mr Eddy believes Chalmers quoted from this version of 1745, instead of 1664, having made some mistake in regard to the year. He supposes the clause found its way into the act by the committee of revision, and that it was never passed by the assembly, nor submitted to that body. He thinks it possible, that the words might have been inserted in a manuscript copy of the laws sent over in 1699, but of this the records of the colony afford no evidence. Attempting to assign the reason, why a committee should at any time be induced to practise such a deception, he 'suggests that it appears to have been at all times an important object with the colony to keep on the best terms with the mother country,' and he thinks this exception of the Roman Catholics was introduced with a view of ingratiating the colony with the British government. This is a brief summary of Mr Eddy's argument, which, in its original form, is ingeniously drawn out, and contains a body of important facts respecting the early legislation of Rhode Island.

Dr Holmes does not seem to have been convinced by this argument, for he has retained the questionable passage in his second edition, introducing into a note, however, the substance of Mr Eddy's opinion. It must be confessed, the grounds of his decision are strong. In the first place, Mr Eddy's argument rests on negative testimony alone, strengthened, it is true, by collateral circumstances. However clear may be the demonstration, that no such words are now found in the early records of Rhode Island, yet it will be a difficult task to prove, that no copy of the laws containing them was ever sent to England. Again, the authority of Chalmers claims the highest respect, for however prejudiced he may have been in his political opinions, he has never been charged with the want of fidelity in his citations. On the contrary, few historians have been so generally confided in for accuracy and good faith. None ever wrote with more favorable means for using original and authentic documents, and these he appears to have consulted with industry and care. To convict him of error, in so plain and marked a case as the one in question, a case in which every motive prompts to the side of truth, would seem to

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require positive proof, or a combination of particular facts, amounting to moral certainty. But in addition to the authority of Chalmers, three others are quoted by Dr Holmes,* which accord with Chalmers, both in the *date of the ordinance* and the *exception of Roman Catholics*. Now it is hardly possible, that four writers at different periods should have fallen into precisely the same error, in regard to a date, and in our judgment the fact of their coincidence proves to a demonstration, that the book, or document, on the authority of which their statements are made, contains the date of 1664. Whether this was a forgery of the revising committee, as well as the clause excepting Roman Catholics, according to Mr Eddy's conjecture, would doubtless be more difficult to decide. It must be observed, however, that the three authorities above alluded to, are anterior to Chalmers, and that consequently they are distinct and independent testimonies.

This train of facts argues strongly in favor of the quotation of Chalmers, but it must be allowed that the weight of probable testimony is against it. The ruling feature in the legislation of Rhode Island was, from the beginning, religious toleration in its utmost latitude. On many occasions it was expressly enacted, that no civil disabilities should be caused by religious faith. During this very year, in which the obnoxious ordinance is supposed to have passed, there are on record acts of the assembly in direct repugnance to it, and others the year following. In the case of admitting persons to be freemen in the colony, it was expressly enacted in this latter year, that those of 'competent estates, civil conversation, and obedience to the civil magistrate,' should have the privileges of freemen. It is strange too, that disabilities should be enacted against a class of people, none of whom had attempted to enter the colony. No Roman Catholics came to Rhode Island till 1680. Mr Eddy very justly observes, 'Why a law should be passed to exclude from the privileges of freemen those who were not inhabitants, by those who believed *all* to be equally entitled to their religious opinions, is difficult to conceive.' In short, all reasoning from analogy, circumstantial evidence, and the uniform tenor of Rhode Island legislation, is against the genuineness of the clause *excepting Roman Catholics*.

* Douglass, i. 443, ii. 83, 104;—British Dominions in America, b. ii. p. 252;—British Empire, ii. 148.

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It may be of some consequence to state, that the Rhode Island papers in the Plantation Office in London have been examined, during the present year, with reference to this subject. Mr Lack, the successor of Chalmers in that office, with much courtesy assisted in the inquiry, and obligingly granted every facility for a thorough examination of the papers. Nothing was discovered. This proves only that Chalmers did not quote from any documents in the Plantation Office; but a large portion of the colonial papers are in other offices, which were not examined with a view to this point, and to which Chalmers had access in writing his Annals.

On the whole, the question seems to us far from being settled. Our own opinion, we confess, inclines to the side of Chalmers's quotation, notwithstanding the mass of strong probabilities against it. The concurrence of four writers in stating the same fact, and assigning to it the same date, affords a kind of testimony, which can hardly be set aside without a positive detection of error in the sources of their information. The idea of collusion, or intended deception, on their part, is not to be admitted, because the former was impossible, and there was no motive for the latter. We do not see how an error is to be proved, except by showing that they actually quoted from false authorities.

While on this topic of religious toleration, we will take occasion to mention what we deem an oversight in Dr Holmes, and that is, the omission to state, under the year 1639, the *Act concerning Religion*, passed by the assembly of Maryland. In this act it is decreed, that 'no person or persons, professing to believe in Jesus Christ, shall from henceforth be anyways troubled, molested, or discountenanced, for, or on account of his or her religion, nor in the free exercise thereof.' Indeed Roger Williams himself could not have dictated an ordinance in a more liberal spirit than this, which was drawn up and put in execution by the Roman Catholic settlers of Maryland. We agree with Mr Walsh * fully, that 'this statute is not only prior in date, as a charter for all Christian sects, to any legislative act of the kind, of which this country can boast, but provides more minutely and anxiously than any other extant for the protection of the rights of conscience, and the preservation of religious harmony.' Nay, we believe not only, that it was the first statute of the kind in this country, but, as

* Appeal, p. 427.

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we have expressed on a former occasion,* that it is the first legislative act on record, *in any country*, for unlimited toleration. This may be said, without any disparagement of Roger Williams, and the early settlers of Rhode Island; for if they did not *enact* toleration at so early a date, or even afterwards, it is well known that they practised it, and history has raised a monument to their wisdom and forbearance in this respect, which will not be defaced by any controversies about the dates or words of particular ordinances.

The third division of the Annals, embracing our national history, from the declaration of independence down to the present day, constitutes in many respects the most important part of the work. In addition to his personal knowledge of the events of recent years, the author has consulted all the best writers, methodizing and condensing the substance of their writings to suit his purpose. This remark applies with particular emphasis in regard to revolutionary history. Descending to more critical times, when the current of events is tinged with party feuds and political antipathies, Dr Holmes has, notwithstanding the difficulty of the task, as far as we have been able to discover, preserved his accustomed impartiality and discrimination.

Many and valuable improvements have been introduced into this second edition. The history is brought twenty-one years further down, and a great many new notes are added. Books published since the first edition have contributed to throw light on the history of the American revolution, and the characters and deeds of the eminent statesmen, patriots, and heroes, who were instrumental in effecting it. They have also afforded assistance in tracing the progress of the arts and sciences, and of the literary, humane, and other institutions of the country, upon all of which Dr Holmes has said as much as was consistent with his general design. One of the most agreeable and instructive parts of his performance is the short biographical notices of distinguished Americans, which are contained in the notes.

On one subject we could have wished to see more full information, than Dr Holmes has communicated. We mean the legislative and legal history of the country. There are two classes of materials from which this is to be derived, the jour-

* North American Review, Vol. xx. p. 102.

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nals of the colonial assemblies, and the original statutes in detail. From some experience in this inquiry, we are well aware of the difficulty of procuring this description of documents with any degree of completeness. In all the colonies there was great negligence in preserving them, and it is very rare to find a complete copy either of the journals, or of the laws as originally passed, in any of the old states. In most cases they were printed, and in others not; but even the printed copies have been lost, or so much scattered, as to render it almost impossible to procure an entire set. Hening's *Collection of the Laws of Virginia*, in thirteen volumes, is an honorable exception, honorable to the state at whose charge it was published, and to the editor as a testimony of his learning, research, and industry. It is beyond all comparison the most complete and valuable collection of materials for history, which has been published in any of the states; and if the other states would follow this noble example of Virginia, nothing more could be desired in this department.

After having derived much satisfaction ourselves from Dr Holmes's work, we recommend it with confidence to such persons as take an interest in the topics on which it treats. It would be a valuable acquisition to every library, public or private, in the country. It is the best repository of historical, chronological, and biographical knowledge respecting America, that can be found embodied in one work.

ART. VIII.—*The Works of Antonio Canova in Sculpture and Modelling, engraved in Outline by Henry Moses, with Descriptions from the Italian of the Countess Albrizzi, and a Biographical Memoir by Count Cicognara.* 2 vols. folio. London. 1824.

IN a preceding number of this journal,* we gave some account of the principal events in the life of Canova, and of the most remarkable among the multiplied productions of his chisel. Not long after the article containing it appeared, the grave closed over this celebrated artist, who died at Venice on the thirteenth

* North American Review, Vol. x. p. 372.

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of October, 1822, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, universally lamented throughout the civilized world, as one of those rare individuals whose extraordinary and unrivalled genius throws a lustre on the period in which they live, and whose loss is, in the nature of things, altogether irreparable. The biographical memoirs and collections of engravings of his works, which have appeared since his death, supply materials for a somewhat ampler notice than we were then able to furnish; and we avail ourselves with pleasure of the opportunity for rendering complete justice to the memory of this great artist, who has particularly recommended himself to the attention of Americans, by consecrating one of his works to the honor of our political savior and father. A tribute of this kind is the more necessary in this country, because the British journalists, with their characteristic jealousy of all foreign excellence, have studiously underrated the merit of Canova, even since his death, in the vain attempt to give their own countryman, Chantrey, a preëminence over him, which that justly distinguished and amiable sculptor would himself as little dream of claiming, as any competent judge of assigning it to him. One of the publications, from which we drew the materials for our former article on this subject, was the series of descriptions of the works of Canova by the Countess Albrizzi of Venice; and we mentioned, in the course of our remarks, that that lady had announced the intention of publishing a collection of engravings of them, with a biography by herself of her illustrious countryman and friend. The work now before us, although no satisfactory account is given of its origin by the British editors, appears to be a reprint, in an English dress, of the one which Mad. Albrizzi has probably published in pursuance of this intention, but which has not yet reached us. It contains a complete collection of engravings in outline of all the productions of Canova, accompanied by the commentaries of this lady, and by a biography, which is, however, not from her pen, but that of Count Cicognara, a Venetian nobleman, well known to the world by his literary talent and taste in the fine arts. The descriptions of Mad. Albrizzi are of a poetical rather than critical character, and probably appear to more advantage in their original shape, than in the present translation, which, however, is not a bad one. The biography is a judicious and unpretending narrative of the leading incidents in a life of exclusive and untiring devotion to art, and of which the best and only faithful

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record is to be found in the charming productions of the artist. We propose, in the present article, to lay before our readers a concise sketch of these events, with such observations on the works of Canova as may be suggested by the descriptions and engravings here given of them, or by the personal survey which we have had opportunity to take of some of the most remarkable among the number.

Canova was a native of Possagno, a village situated near the city of Asolo at the foot of the Venetian Alps. The talent for sculpture was hereditary in his family, having been exercised by his father aud grandfather with a good degree of success in the construction of monuments, altars, and other works, mostly for the interior decoration of the churches in their neighborhood. His father died while Canova was yet an infant, and it was from his grandfather, who still continued at a very advanced age the practice of the art, that he received his first instruction in the mechanical part of it. The peculiar aptitude which he exhibited under these circumstances, attracted the attention of several noblemen of taste, in the immediate vicinity of his native village, who supplied the young sculptor with the means of removing to Venice and studying under the first artists of that city, which he accordingly did, at about fourteen years of age. He began very early to exhibit, both in the choice of his subjects and in his mode of treating them, the lofty spirit and correct taste which afterwards raised him to the head of his art. His Orpheus and Eurydice, which were executed in his sixteenth and seventeenth years, though inferior to his later productions, excited in a singular degree the admiration of his countrymen, and announced the dawn of a genius of the highest promise. They are still preserved in the palace of his earliest patron, the Patrician Giovanni Falieri, at Asolo. The success of these and several other groups and statues, which he executed not long after, encouraged his friends to afford him the opportunity of studying at Rome,—the central point and, as it were, metropolis of the fine arts. He was accordingly placed there at the close of the year 1780, under the protection of the Venetian ambassador, the Chevalier Girolamo Zulian. As a provision for the expenses of his residence at Rome, the government of his native republic voted him an annual pension of three hundred ducats for three years.

Such were the circumstances under which Canova entered on his brilliant career. From this time forward he passed his

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life, with the exception of occasional short excursions for recreation or business, in his workshop at Rome, where he continued his labors with uninterrupted assiduity through the whole series of political revolutions which shook the world around him, and swept into their vortex almost every other individual of any note or talent in Italy. No clearer proof could be given of the absorbing and unconquerable passion for his art with which he was possessed, and which alone could have raised him to the distinction he attained. He was aware, before he left Venice, of the great inferiority of the modern style of sculpture, and had already fixed his eyes on the pure and perfect models of antiquity. In this correct taste he was confirmed and encouraged, upon his arrival at Rome, as well by his own observations upon the works of art, which he there saw, as by the advice and opinion of the best judges from all parts of Europe, whom he met with in that city. After allowing him a sufficient time to prepare himself, by a proper course of study, for new efforts, the Venetian ambassador placed at his disposal a fine block of marble, and invited him to execute, upon a subject of his own choice, a work which should furnish a specimen of the improvement that he had derived from his residence at Rome. Canova, laboring in the palace and under the eye of the ambassador, who has thus associated his name with the glory of his *protégé*, converted this block of marble into the group of Theseus and the Minotaur,—the first of his works in which he exhibited the maturity of his talent. This production realized the highest expectations entertained by the patrons of the young artist; and the execution of it may be said to form an epoch in the history of modern sculpture. The circumstances attending this interesting moment in the life of Canova, are related by his biographer in the following terms;

'On his arrival at Rome, Canova had experienced the kindest reception from the Venetian ambassador, and had free access to his splendid mansion. This enlightened and accomplished nobleman, soon becoming impressed with a high sense of the merit and powers of the young sculptor, procured from Venice a cast in plaster of the group of Dædalus and Icarus, which he had executed in that city, for the purpose of exhibiting it to the artists and connoisseurs at Rome. The house of the ambassador was, indeed, a kind of athenæum, and frequented by all the persons most distinguished by talents and genius in that city. On the occasion of the first production of this group, he was surrounded

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by Cades, Volpato, Battoni, Gavin Hamilton, Puccini, and many other distinguished artists and critics, who contemplated the work with silent astonishment, not daring to censure what, although at variance with the style then followed, commanded their admiration, and revealed the brightest prospects. The embarrassment of the youth at this juncture was extreme, and he frequently spoke of it afterwards as one of the most anxious moments of his life. From this state he was, however, soon relieved by the friendly and paternal address of Gavin Hamilton, exciting him to unite with so exact and beautiful an imitation of nature the fine taste and *beau idéal* of the ancients, of which Rome contained so many models; predicting, at the same time, that by such a course he would greatly pass the limits which had been reached by the moderns. But the censure which he overheard from one who stood behind him, was more agreeable to the young artist than any direct eulogium. This Aristarchus observed, that, from the effect produced on the observer by the naked forms so carefully finished in this group, they must have been moulded upon a living subject, when in reality they were wholly the result of his severe study of the human form, entirely unassisted by mechanical means. This greatly encouraged the young artist, and convinced him that he had already raised himself above the mediocrity of his contemporaries.

'From the moment of his arrival at Rome, he had commenced a severe and profound study of the great models of ancient art, without, however, neglecting the fruits of his previous close observation of nature, the expression of which he always proposed to himself to make a distinguishing quality in his works. He had a profound contempt for all conventional modes in the arts, and was led, even in that early age, by a correct taste, rather than by instruction, to prefer, among the monuments of ancient art, those which were of the age of Phidias, in which the lofty conceptions of the artist are most closely united with truth of expression,—a decision which has since been fully confirmed by the exhibition made to Europe by the British Museum of the first certain monuments of the arts of that era.

'It may be proper to take here a slight survey of the various circumstances which had promoted the improvement in the arts previously to the arrival of Canova at Rome; for the influence of the genius of one man could not have been wholly adequate to the reconducting of art into its true but forsaken paths, unless the approach to them had been cleared by the sound judgment of some of his predecessors, and without the aid of other favoring circumstances. Indeed the influence of established practice and professional jealousy created no trifling obstacles to the progress

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of Canova. These, however, his modest and unpresuming conduct aided greatly to remove, while an air of triumph and superiority would, by wounding the feelings of his rivals, have created additional opposition. Already, however, many causes had existed, tending to an improvement in the arts. Among them may be enumerated the encouragement to right studies given by the Marquess Tanucci at Naples, the protection afforded to literature, and the arts at the courts of Charles the Third, Leopold, Benedict the Fourteenth, Pius the Sixth, and by Cardinal Silvio Valenti, the Colbert of the Holy See; by the Albani, the Zelada, and the Borgia; the studies of Mazzochi, Bajardi, Galliani, of the two Venuti, of Maffei, Gesnero, Gori, Passeri, Paoli, and Amaduzzi; the good taste diffused by Cochin, Bellicard, Burlington, Mariette, and Sir William Hamilton; the Herculanean discoveries; the travels of St Non, Norden, Pococke, Wheeler, Spon, Revet, and Stuart; the exact admeasurement of ancient architecture by Des Godetz; the masterly works of the Piranesi on the antiquities of Rome; the illustration and rendering public of galleries and museums by means of engravings; the opening of baths; the study of the galleries of the Vatican; the excavation of old edifices; the collection and illustration of old inscriptions by Morcelli, Marini, Zoega, Fea, and Akerblad; the great works of Visconti and Winkelman; the enlightened taste of the Earl of Bristol, and of the Ambassador D' Azara, for these studies; the genius and profound erudition of Hancarville; the valuable collections of Hamilton, Jenkins, and Agincourt; the perfection of the intaglios of Pikler; the fine and bold designs of Flaxman; the attraction given to these studies by the accomplished Algarotti; the triumph over prejudices of the formidable Milizia; the labors of Temanza and Lanzi.—These all supplied immense sources of aid to the young Phidias, and seemed to him to point out that moment as the favorable one for giving a different direction to sculpture from that which was pursued by living masters.

'It is remarkable, that both sculpture and architecture should at this time owe their revival to the genius of the Venetians; for while Canova was executing his first great works at Rome, Ottone Calderari was reviving the Grecian taste in Vicenza, and Querenghi, at St Petersburgh, was fulfilling, in a masterly style, the magnificent views of that imperial court, by the erection of sumptuous and elegant edifices of every description. It must be allowed, however, that no ordinary degree of genius and courage was required to break loose from the false and vicious rules of art which then prevailed, particularly in sculpture, as not one of his contemporaries had, with all the incitements which have been enumerated, yet advanced a single step in that direction. Indeed the works which Canova first saw at Rome, the productions of

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Agostino Penna, Pacili, Bracci, Sibilla, Pacetti, and Angilini are already fallen into total neglect; neither can we discover in them the source of the slightest excitement to the improved style which the Venetian pupil afterwards acquired.

'The Chevalier Zulian now saw the importance of giving effective assistance to the developing powers of Canova. He therefore placed at his command a fine block of marble, to be devoted to a subject of his own choice, and to show the profit derived from his residence and studies at Rome. This was the first marble sculptured by Canova on those true principles by which he had proposed to himself to be guided in his works; a composition by which a new path was opened to all the productions of the imitative arts. The subject which we chose was Theseus, conqueror of the Minotaur, and the work was conducted throughout in the palace of the Venetian ambassador. It was a highly interesting moment, when his excellent patron produced a cast of the head only of the Theseus to a party of the first artists and critics assembled in his house, without informing them whence it had been obtained. All concurred, however varying in other points, in pronouncing it to be of Grecian workmanship; and many thought they had seen the marble from which it had been taken, not being able, however, to recollect exactly where it was. But when the ambassador conducted them before the original and entire group, their surprise was indeed extreme, and they were forced to exclaim, that by this work art had commenced a new career. On this occasion it may be said, that Theseus was the conqueror, not only of the Minotaur, but of Envy also, forcing from his rival artists the first homage of their admiration of Canova, who at so early an age had raised art to a higher degree of perfection than had been attained by any sculptor since its revival in Italy.'

In this group the Minotaur is represented, according to some of the traditions, with the body of a man and the head of a bull. The contest is already decided, and the lifeless carcass of the fallen monster is carelessly thrown over a rock, which thus furnishes a natural pedestal to the group. The young conqueror is seated on the body, resting his right hand on one of the thighs, and holding in his left the club with which he has achieved his victory. His shoulders are thrown back a little as if he were reposing from a strong effort, while with his head gently inclining forward he fixes a look of proud satisfaction on the face of his antagonist. The subject of this work is very happily chosen. The uncouth form of the monster, while it gives variety to the figures, furnishes a fine foil to the

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exquisitely symmetrical shape of the hero. The attitudes of both are perfectly easy, and are also such as to give a unity and pyramidical appearance to the group, which are always pleasing qualities when they naturally result from the subject. The action represented,—a prince, in the flower of youth and beauty, adventuring his life in an almost desperate conflict for the purpose of delivering his country from a savage imposition,—is fitted to awaken emotions which tend to increase the effect of the work. The figure and countenance of Theseus are in the highest style of manly beauty. The features express the stern delight of triumph, mingled with contempt for the brutal enemy. As the situation is substantially the same, so the predominant expression of the features was probably borrowed from that of the Apollo Belvidere, who is supposed to be represented as having just slain the serpent Python with an arrow. The division of the lips, and the disdainful curl of the upper one, are seen alike in both; but the difference in the attitudes removes the appearance of anything like servile imitation in Canova, who has in fact done no more than indicate, by its natural expression, the same sentiment which is shown in the face of the Apollo. The Perseus, one of his later productions, is a direct copy of the celebrated antique statue in question, but is perhaps a less successful exhibition of the talent of the artist than the Theseus. The Countess Albrizzi expresses in strong terms her admiration of the beauty of this statue. 'Men,' says she, 'who behold it, would fain resemble Theseus, while the fairer sex experience all the emotions of Ariadne.'

We have dwelt at some length on this group, because, while it is in itself one of the most finished productions of the chisel of Canova, it is particularly remarkable as the one which opened the series of his mature efforts. It is now, we believe, in possession of Count de Fries, a banker at Vienna, of the house to which our countryman, Mr David Parish, was attached. The talent exhibited in the Theseus gave celebrity at once to the name of Canova, and he was immediately engaged to execute a monument to the memory of Pope Clement the Fourteenth (Ganganelli), in the church of the Holy Apostles at Rome. The complete success with which he acquitted himself of this honorable and arduous commission, is attested, for those who trust more to the judgment of professed connoisseurs than their own, by the following letter, in which the *for-*

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midable Milizia,—as he is called in the above extract,—a critic not less distinguished for the uncompromising severity of his judgment, than for the perfection of his taste, expressed his opinion of the monument of Ganganelli soon after its erection in 1787.

'In the church of the Holy Apostles, near to the Sacristy, and fronting to one of the side aisles, a mausoleum has been erected to the late Pope Ganganelli, by Antonio Canova, a Venetian sculptor. So great is the simplicity of this composition, that it seems all facility, but it is nevertheless full of talent and difficulty. What repose! what elegance! what harmony! Both the sculptural and the architectural parts, in general effect and in detail, are highly classical. Canova may indeed be reckoned among the ancients. I hardly know whether he belongs more to Athens or to Corinth, but of this I feel assured, that if in the best times of Grecian art a subject of this nature had been to be treated, it would have been by such a work as this. During the twenty-six years which I have lived in this city of the world, I have never before seen such universal admiration excited by any work of art as by this. The most intelligent and liberal artists pronounce it to be the nearest approach to the ancients of all the productions of modern sculpture. Even the Jesuits can praise and admire this marble Ganganelli, which certainly may be deemed a miracle of that Pope, who will derive as much glory from this monument as from the suppression of that order. If anything were needed to convince us that this is a perfect work, it would be furnished by the censures of the Michael-Angelists, Berninists, and Borrominists, who point out as defects those parts which are its greatest beauties, charging the drapery, the outlines, and expression, with being Grecian;—"*Dio abbia pietà di loro.*"'

Of the funeral monuments executed by Canova, the most remarkable are the one now mentioned in honor of Pope Ganganelli, that of Pope Clement the Thirteenth (Rezzonico), in the church of St Peter's at Rome, which was finished in the year 1792, and that of the Archduchess Christina of Austria, which was erected in 1805 by desire of her husband, the Duke of Saxe Teschen, in the church of the Augustine Friars at Vienna. These three compositions are all of the first order of merit, and quite unrivalled by anything of the kind in Europe. The last is generally regarded as the finest of the three, perhaps because the artist has given greater latitude in this than in the others to the tender and amiable feelings that formed the basis of his own moral constitution, and determined

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the leading characteristics of his style in sculpture, which are, in general, grace and sweetness rather than power. The description of this monument by the Countess Albrizzi is particularly full and interesting. It will be read, we think, with pleasure, although it loses of course a part of its effect when not accompanied by the engravings.

'This mausoleum, placed in the church of the Augustines at Vienna, is in memory of Christina of Austria, daughter of Maria Theresa, and wife of Duke Albert of Saxe Teschen. This beautiful and pathetic composition was executed by Canova at the desire of her afflicted husband, whose grief must be soothed and alleviated by the contemplation of the celestial figures which here so finely express the virtues of her whose memory he so fondly cherishes.

'The monument, the material of which is a greyish marble, presents one side of a pyramid to the spectator, being only slightly raised from the wall against which it rests. It is placed upon an ample base, from which two steps are raised and form the approach to the door of the tomb, over which, on the architrave, the following inscription is engraven; CHRISTINÆ. AUSTRIACÆ. ALBERTI. SAXONIÆ. PRINCIPIS. CONJUGI.

'There are nine figures employed in this monument, besides the lion and the medallion. They are all of the natural size, and may be divided into four groups. The first, which occupies the middle part, consists of an allegorical figure of Virtue, with two young females bearing torches. Virtue is represented in the form of a young matron of a dignified but afflicted aspect, bearing before her the funeral urn, on which, bending down, she rests her forehead. She is attired in a rich tunic and a mantle, gracefully and appropriately disposed; her hair is unbound and spread in a disorderly manner over her shoulders, and her head is encircled with an olive crown. Ascending the steps, which are spread with a rich carpet, she approaches the door of the tomb. The attendant, who goes before her, has already reached the entrance, where her steps seem for a moment arrested by the awful feelings which the place inspires; but bending forward and lowering her torch to illumine the dark abode, she prepares to enter. The pious attitude of this young female, her loosened tresses falling down in rich curls upon her shoulders, her simple attire and modest step, give to her figure a grace and expression which, unaided by the effect of countenance, I have never seen equalled. The other attendant, who is behind, and is seen in profile, has the same simplicity of dress and character. With downcast eyes and slow and devoted step she follows her celestial conductor. Two wreaths of flowers, joined at the top of the urn, connect

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these figures, which, from the depth and harmony of the sentiment that unites them, would separately form a complete and charming composition.

'They are followed, at a short distance, by the second group, observing in some degree the order of a procession. It consists of a female figure, whom, from the gentleness of her aspect, we recognise to be Beneficence; a blind and aged man whom she is leading; and a young female child. Beneficence is attired with all the simplicity and grace of the Grecian manner. Her hands are sorrowfully crossed before her, and her eyes fixed on the ground with an air of gentleness and affliction. So perfect is the character and expression of this eloquent figure, that she awakens within us all the heightened feelings that the most pathetic poetry could convey. She has ascended the first step, and is followed by the old man, who, leaning on her arm, tries, with the aid of his staff, to raise himself on the step. His appearance bespeaks the feebleness of age and poverty; and his countenance, on which acute sorrow is depicted, is turned towards the tomb, which probably contains his best friend and benefactress. The child, who stands beside him, and is represented with a simplicity conformable to her tender age, is in the humble attitude of prayer. In this group the artist makes a lively allusion to the warmth and readiness of benevolence for which the Princess was so much distinguished. A wreath of flowers, lying on the ground, occupies the short space between the first and second groups; and if our feelings are excited by these deeply impassioned figures, the fine diagonal line in which they cross the steps of the monument is no less pleasing to the eye.

'Opposite to these figures, on the left, is a magnificent lion, lying crouching on the upper step, who seems the faithful and eternal guardian of the monument. Seated beside him on the steps, is a winged genius, whose form and aspect discover his celestial origin. A mantle, spread beneath him, protects his delicate limbs, while, bending forward and leaning with his right arm and side against the lion, he steadfastly and mournfully looks on the funeral procession. His left hand rests upon the shield of the house of Saxony, of which he is the tutelary genius.

'The fourth group, which occupies the upper part of the pyramid, is of a more exalted character. The figure of Felicity is there represented, bearing upward the image of the Princess, encircled by the emblem of eternity. The aërial grace and lightness of her motion, her serene and heavenly countenance, her delicate limbs, are all of the most perfect taste and execution. On the other side, a little winged genius flies towards her bearing a branch of palm.

'Favored by heaven in an illustrious birth and splendid destiny,

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this Princess is no less felicitous in possessing such a tomb, where the memory of her virtues, which are symbolized by the most perfect creations of genius, is perpetuated, and which will continue to be an object of interest and admiration so long as virtue and genius shall be regarded on earth.'

We have never had the pleasure of seeing this monument, but the effect of it, even in the imperfect shape of an engraved outline, is very great. In the work before us there are five engravings of it, one representing the entire work, and the others respectively the four groups of figures which are specified in the above description. The fourth group, which is placed near the apex of the pyramid, and is composed of a female figure of Felicity, suspended in the air without any visible support, bearing a medallion with the head of the Archduchess, attended by a little winged genius with a palm-branch, is to us less agreeable than the others, and might, we think, have been omitted without injuring the effect of the monument. It was probably thought necessary to introduce somewhere the face of the Princess. In general the effect of winged human figures, which, if they be well managed, is often agreeable in poetry and even in painting, is positively unpleasant in sculpture. The essential incongruity of the combination is here so apparent, that the imagination cannot lose sight of it; and the main impression suggested is that of a person painfully hovering in the air, without sufficient support and in imminent danger of a fall. A still stronger impression of the same kind is of course produced by the view of a figure suspended in the air, without wings or any visible support whatever. Of the other groups, which are all beautiful in different ways, the central one is perhaps the most attractive. The art with which the sculptor has communicated a mournful expression to the leading figure which is just entering the monument, and of which the back part only is visible, is truly remarkable. The view of these charming groups recalls to mind the exquisite allegorical figures which the delicate genius of Collins has collected round the 'hallowed mould' of the brave who fell in the battle of Fontenoy, the 'gray pilgrim Honor,' 'Spring, with dewy fingers cold,' and the 'weeping hermit Freedom;' and again in the dirge on Colonel Ross;

> 'The thoughts which musing Pity pays,
> And fond Remembrance loves to raise,
> Your faithful hours attend;

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Still Fancy, to herself unkind,
Awakes to grief the softened mind,
And points the bleeding friend.'

'O'er him, whose doom thy virtues grieve
Aërial forms shall sit at eve,
And bend the pensive head;
And, fallen to save his injured land,
Imperial Honor's awful hand
Shall point his lonely bed.'

Of the numerous sepulchral monuments of smaller dimensions, and somewhat less celebrity, which Canova executed, that of the poet Alfieri, in the church of *Santa Croce*, or the Holy Cross, at Florence, is the one most worthy of note, as well for the interesting character of the subject, as from the perfection of the work. Canova, like other artists of transcendent genius, was often compelled, probably with some regret, to lavish the treasures of his talent upon noble mediocrity and royal nothingness; but we may readily conceive, on the other hand, with what inspiration and enthusiasm he must have labored to perpetuate the glory of his illustrious contemporary, who had effected in the poetry of their common country nearly the same revolution which he had himself brought about in the sculpture of modern Europe. Alfieri and Canova were the two great names in art of their day; and the monument, which thus commemorates them in connexion, will be viewed with the deepest interest, independently of its merit as a work, by all future ages.

'The plan,' says Mad. Albrizzi, 'is lofty and simple, like the spirit of him whom it records. It consists of a simple sarcophagus, the four corners of which are each ornamented with a tragic mask, symbols of the dramatic genius of Alfieri; and in the centre is sculptured his bust in a medallion, full of life and of that fire which ever glowed in his impetuous breast. On the medallion is inscribed, VICT. ALFERIUS. AST.

'Standing beside the tomb, and resting upon it her right arm, is a colossal female figure, with a turreted crown. With one hand she holds the border of her mantle to her streaming eyes, while the other falls neglectedly at her side. In her majestic countenance, although clouded with grief, we observe that fine symmetry of features in which beauty consists, and which the rules of art require to be ever preserved. She is attired in a tunic, confined under the breast by a narrow band, over which is a

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regal mantle, which, flowing down from her shoulders, forms an ample train, whose large and graceful folds give a wonderful dignity to her person. It is *Italy* weeping over her son, and with such tears as would be grateful even to the lofty spirit of Alfieri himself. On the base of the monument is sculptured a lyre, and underneath it the following inscription,—VICT. ALFERIO. ASTENSI. ALOYSIA. E. STOLBERGIS. ALBANYÆ. COMITISSA.

'Among the many noble tombs which adorn this church, that of Alfieri is distinguished by its grandeur, and particularly attracts the attention and admiration of the stranger. It is on this also, that at departing he casts his last glance, as if desirous of treasuring up in his memory so noble an object. May this temple, so sublime a monument of Italian glory, be ever preserved from the sacrilegious hand of violence, and may the ashes of Alfieri here find the repose which his impetuous and inflexible spirit ever disturbed when living.'

The sepulchral monuments executed by Canova would have been sufficient of themselves to have procured him the glory of the restorer of modern sculpture; but with all their merit, they are perhaps not the highest, and certainly not the most pleasing efforts of his genius. The triumph of the plastic art, as of painting, lies in the representation of the human figure; and it is obvious that the artist will have more room and better opportunity for developing his talent for this purpose, in proportion as his attention is less diverted from the main object by accessories of inferior importance. In sepulchral monuments there is generally a large mixture of architectural accessories, which a good deal injure the effect of the sculpture; while in groups, statues, and busts, the human figures, which are the proper objects of attention, are also the only ones. Works of this kind, therefore, are far more favorable for the exhibition of the sculptor's skill; and of the various classes of subjects to which they may be devoted, those again are the most happy, which afford the greatest latitude for the display of the naked figure. The execution of draperies, though it occasionally affords opportunity for showing a good deal of science, is after all an inferior branch of art. It is often abandoned by the best portrait painters to their pupils; and in statues, the parts that are covered are in reality, as regards effect, almost wholly lost. We find accordingly, that the antique groups and statues, which are the most celebrated, and are in fact considered as indicating the perfection of the art, have little or no drapery; and that of those among them in which draperies are employed,

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the naked parts alone attract much attention. As statues and groups afford by far the best field for the exercise of talent, so it is in them that the genius of Canova displayed itself to the greatest advantage and under its peculiar characteristics. The number of his productions of this class is so astonishingly great, that we shall not undertake even to recapitulate, much less to comment upon them; but shall content ourselves with making a few remarks upon three or four of those which exhibit most distinctly the nature and extent of his talent.

One of the very best, and at the same time most decidedly original statues, is the *Penitent Magdalen.* It was executed by Canova in 1796, and intended as a present to his native city; but afterwards passed into the hands of the French, and now forms a part of the collection of Count Sommariva at Paris, where it has a small room entirely to itself, like the Venus de' Medici in the gallery of Florence, and the exquisite Ariadne of Danneker in that of the banker Bethman at Frankfort. The Magdalen is placed in the centre of this apartment upon a pedestal about three feet high. The figure is of the natural size, and is seated on a rock in the oriental fashion with the feet turned back, and the body resting on them. The arms are extended over the upper part of the thighs, with the palms of the hands upwards and supporting a small cross, upon which the eyes are intensely fixed. The head is bent slightly forward; and the features, which are eminently beautiful, are marked with a strong and deep expression of sorrow. The dishevelled hair falls loosely over the back and shoulders. A slight drapery veils a part of the front of the figure; a cord passes round the waist, while a skull is placed on one side upon the rock. Three engravings are given in the work before us of this fine statue, which we have also had opportunity to examine ourselves. Although the subject is not of that class in which the genius of Canova has been thought to take most delight, the execution of the work is perhaps equal in perfection to that of any of the others; nor is there any appearance in it of the affectation, with which some of them have been at times reproached. The attitude, though rather unusual, at least in our latitudes, is perfectly easy, and the form and features true to the style of beauty which belongs to the character. Settled grief dwells in every line of the countenance, and diffuses itself over every part of the figure, so that we plainly discover the expression of it

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even on a side view and when the face is not visible. Nothing indeed can be finer in its way than one of these side views. It presents the flowing outline of a beautiful female form with proportions rather full than slender, but nicely symmetrical. The upturned sole of the delicate foot, the recumbent thigh swelling under the resistance of the legs and feet on which it reposes, the gracefully reclining body, the smooth and gently rounded shoulders, and the finely turned arms and hands, are all finished and disposed with exquisite taste and skill. At the view of so many beauties, voluptuous emotions begin to steal upon the mind; but the cord that surrounds the waist of the lovely sufferer, the mysterious symbol of torture and penitence that is seen in her hands, the drooping head, the dishevelled hair, the general attitude of utter desolation and abandonment, chasten every idle thought, and inspire, even without the aid of the countenance, the deepest sentiments of melancholy and pity. On a front view, when the form appears to less advantage, the attention is chiefly engaged with the features. These, as we remarked above, are in the finest style of Grecian beauty, but impressed with the stamp of settled grief. No ray of light enlivens the gloom of this beclouded mind. The cross itself, upon which the unhappy victim of passion fixes her gaze, is still a sign of terror rather than of consolation; and the expression would be that of absolute despair, were there not around the lips a sweetness indicating patient resignation, which holds out a gleam of hope, that her sincere repentance will in time be accepted, and that heavenly grace will descend in whispers of peace to quiet the alarms of her troubled conscience.

In another statue on the same subject, executed for the Earl of Liverpool in the year 1822, the fair penitent is stretched at her length upon a rock, with a cross by her side, in an attitude which recalls to mind that of Eloisa, in Pope's Epistle,—a poetical Magdalen, more touching, perhaps, than any one that painting or sculpture has ever produced.

'See in her cell sad Eloisa spread,
Propt on some tomb, a neighbor of the dead.
In each low wind methinks a spirit calls,
And more than echoes talk along the walls.
Here, as I watched the dying lamps around,
From yonder shrine I heard a hollow sound.
"Come, sister! come," it said, or seemed to say:
"Thy place is here, sad sister! come away.

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Once like thyself, I trembled, wept, and prayed,
Love's victim then, though now a sainted maid.
But all is calm in this eternal sleep;
Here grief forgets to groan, and love to weep,
E'en superstition loses every fear;
For God, not man, absolves our frailties here." '

Although the poet in this exquisite Epistle, and the sculptor in the two Magdalens to which we have alluded, have chosen to personify Repentance, under the form of a beautiful female reduced to hopeless misery by the indulgence of licentious passions, there would perhaps be more truth to nature and better means of producing effect, at least in poetry, by assuming for this purpose the internal agony of successful and triumphant guilt. When our deviations from the path of rectitude fail in producing for us the pleasures and advantages we had expected, such is the infirmity of the human heart, that we naturally bewail our ill success rather than our errors. 'He repented of his faults,' says Goethe, in describing the last moments of some wretched vagabond, 'He repented of his faults much, but of his misfortunes much more.'

'Er bereute seine Fehler sehr,
Ja; und bejammerte sein Unglück noch viel mehr.'

In these cases imagination brings before us the objects which we have failed to attain under new attractions; and instead of really repenting of our vicious desires, we rather regret that we were not permitted to realize them, and thus to become even more guilty than we have been. The poet, by presenting different trains of thought as passing successively through the mind of his subject, has the means of exhibiting correctly this conflict of opposite and various feelings; and the truth, energy, and beauty with which it is described, forms in fact the great merit of Pope's Eloisa. But the painter and sculptor, who can only represent a single moment of time with its predominant emotion, are compelled to set before us images of Repentance, which, however touching, are to a certain extent untrue to nature. Cromwell in his palace, and not Bonaparte upon his rock, would be the true type of the torments of guilty ambition. When the flush of triumph is over, and experience has proved the nothingness,—considered as elements of happiness in themselves, and independently of the means by which they are acquired and the manner in which they are used,—

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of the power, the wealth, the fame, the pleasure, in pursuit of which he has defied the suggestions of his own conscience, and trampled on the happiness of all around him, it is then, and then only, that the slave of Vice looks back with unavailing regret upon the peace of mind which he has lost for ever. It is then that Virtue appears to him in all her natural charms, heightened, if possible, by the coloring of Fancy; and that he begins, like the evil spirit in Paradise Lost, to 'pine his loss'; or in the words of the Latin poet, from whom Milton imitated the passage,

'Virtutem videat, *intabescatque relictâ.*'

This is the moment of real *repentance*, a secret agony that dwells, unperceived by the world, in the inmost recesses of the heart, while perhaps the face is radiant with smiles, and the body robed in purple. The sculptor, whose art dwells only in sensible images, has really no means of delineating these feelings, and must leave it to the poet in his wider range of observation and description to do them justice.

For these reasons the two admirable statues, which we have just been describing, are perhaps, in strict correctness of language, representations of Grief rather than Repentance; but by the aid of accessories, which direct the imagination of the spectator, they produce the effect intended. While they are among the very best, they are also, as we have already remarked, among the most completely original works of Canova, and would suffice of themselves to refute the invidious suggestions sometimes made by his enemies, that he was a mere imitator of the ancients, and entirely destitute of any creative genius of his own. Upon the force of this objection, taken in general, we shall presently have occasion to make a few remarks. Among the other statues of Canova, the *Perseus* and the two *Venuses*, though perhaps not decidedly the first in effect, are particularly remarkable as being direct imitations of the *Apollo Belvidere* and the *Venus de' Medici*. A comparison of these beautiful copies with their still more beautiful models is at once an interesting study, and will afford a convenient occasion for a brief inquiry into the merit of Canova in itself, and as compared with that of the greatest antique sculptors.

The *Perseus* was executed in 1800 for an artist at Milan, but the Pope insisted on retaining it at Rome, and placing it in the Vatican Gallery as a substitute for the Apollo Belvidere,

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which was then in the Louvre at Paris. The subject is analogous to that of the Apollo, and the general plan of the execution is the same. Perseus is represented in the moment of his victory over the Gorgon Medusa, and holds out at arm's length in his left hand the head which he has just cut off, while his right grasps a dagger. The weight of the figure reposes on the left leg, and the right one is drawn a little upward, and touches the ground only with the toes. The upper part of the body is slightly thrown back, and the face is turned with a look of scornful triumph upon that of the hideous enemy. The attitude and expression are therefore exactly the same with those of the famous original. There is, however, this important difference in the execution of the two statues, that the antique sculptor has given an unnatural roundness and smoothness to the limbs of the Apollo, and has hardly represented the muscles at all, intending, as is commonly supposed, to indicate in this way the supernatural character of his subject. Canova, on the other hand, has brought out fully the entire muscular conformation proper to the age and constitution of his hero. In this particular the modern sculptor has, we think, shown a better judgment than the ancient one. Our idea of divinity is realized and embodied in human forms (as far as it can be so realized and embodied) by representing these forms as they exist at their highest point of perfection, and not by fantastic variations from the truth of nature. A distinct indication of the true shape of the limbs is as necessary to the beauty of a statue, as a correct representation of the features of the face; and a god without muscles must be ranked, as such, with the other imaginary beings that people the heaven of the pagan mythology,—'Gorgons, and hydras, and chimeras dire.'

Of the two Venuses, one was executed in 1805 for the Grand Duke of Tuscany, but under the express condition that it should not occupy the place of the *Venus de' Medici* in the Florence Gallery; the other is a repetition of the former with some variations, and was executed in 1820 for Mr Thomas Hope. Although the modesty of Canova led him to decline a formal competition with the celebrated antique which has just been mentioned, he has had it in view in both these statues, and in the latter still more directly than in the former. Both are, however, somewhat larger than the model, and depart so much from it in other respects, that they must be regarded as free imitations, or original works on the same subject,

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rather than mere copies. In the one first executed, the goddess is just issuing from the bath. She bends the upper part of her body slightly forward, and presses to her breast, with both hands, a cloth with which she is supposed to be drying her person, and which hangs down in loose folds, forming a drapery that nearly covers the front of the statue. She turns her head towards her left shoulder as if listening; and the beautiful countenance, as well as the attitude of the body and disposition of the arms and drapery, exhibits very decidedly the sentiment of alarm, as if she were afraid of being surprised by some unwelcome visitor. The Venus de' Medici has no drapery whatever; and although the attitude and disposition of the arms give to the statue an air of modesty which is one of its principal attractions, yet the countenance indicates complete tranquillity. The sentiment expressed is not the fear of surprise, but rather an instinctive delicacy which shrinks from exposure even in retirement. In the second Venus of Canova the proportions of the figure are rather fuller than in the first, and the disposition of the arms is nearly the same as in the Venus de' Medici. The drapery is considerably reduced, and is secured by the right hand alone, so as to cover only a small part of the front of the figure, while the left arm and hand are drawn up before the breast. The expression of the countenance is that of entire tranquillity. In all these respects the sculptor has shown an evident intention to copy more closely than he did before the celebrated statue, which, as the poet of the Seasons enthusiastically expresses it, 'enchants the world.' The Countess Albrizzi, illustrious herself for beauty as well as wit, and of course a competent judge on the question, enlarges with warmth upon the perfection of both these statues, but declines expressing a preference for either. 'The shape of this Venus,' she observes in reference to the second, 'is more formed than that of the other, and there is more of ease and repose in her posture and features. The minutest difference which so consummate an artist has thought proper to make in two models of female beauty, executed at different periods of his life, is doubtless highly interesting; but I deem it prudent to desist here from a comparison which is dangerous even between mortal beauties, and advise the lover of art to to content himself, as I shall do, with tracing out and admiring the peculiar charms which each of them possesses.' There are two repetitions of the former of these Venuses in its original

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shape. The first belongs to the king of Bavaria. The second was executed for Lucien Bonaparte, and is now in possession of the Marquis of Lansdowne.

Any one of these statues, or of the repetitions of them, would confer upon its author the fame of a first-rate sculptor, but when tried by the high standard which is properly applied to the works of Canova, they will not perhaps be considered as among his happiest efforts, and not being such, must of course fall below the famous models which are justly regarded as the masterpieces of the art. There are no circumstances, indeed, under which talent is exhibited with so little advantage as in direct imitations of the finished productions of others. A diligent study of the best models is no doubt an excellent, or rather indispensable means of forming a correct taste; and to make copies of them is for this purpose a useful exercise. But when it is the object of the artist to display the ripe fruits of his own genius, he should look for models directly and exclusively to nature, and rather avoid than seek such subjects as have already been treated in a masterly way. For in laboring upon them, if he aim at close imitation, the free developement of his genius is checked; and if on the other hand he rather seek to avoid servility, he is apt to run into a false direction for the mere purpose of being original. In either case he loses the direct and unchecked following of nature, which is the only principle of excellence in art. If we compare in detail the Perseus and the Venuses of Canova with their respective models, it is easy to perceive the points in which the latter are inferior. Neither of the Venuses, however exquisitely beautiful they both may be, is equally perfect in shape or features with the Medici; and the tranquil modesty of the latter is a far more pleasing expression than the startled timidity of the others. The second Venus has nearly the expression of the antique; but here again the fuller proportions are an unfortunate variation, because they contrast with the extreme and, as it were, ethereal delicacy which seems to be the leading characteristic of the subject. The Perseus, which we think sustains this dangerous comparison better than the Venuses, wants perhaps the exact truth to nature in the attitude and disposition of the limbs, which distinguishes the Apollo Belvidere, and brings out so happily the character of intellectual and moral sublimity, which the artist intended to impart to his work. The attitude of the Perseus has been said by some to

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be impossible; and if we grant that this statement of the objection is a strong exaggeration, it must yet perhaps be admitted that the figure has not the complete freedom which the expression of nobleness and superiority so peculiarly requires. We may conclude, on the whole, that notwithsianding the extraordinary merit of these imitations by Canova, the two antique models retain the preëminence which they have always been allowed to possess over all the other efforts of the art. There is something indeed in the nature of these subjects, combined with the perfection of the execution, which renders it nearly impossible that they can ever be surpassed or even equalled. The manly and the female form, each in its perfect state, and inspired by the moral expression that properly belongs to it, are the natural types of sublimity and beauty. When, therefore, the two have been represented with their respective attributes of imposing dignity and modest grace, in a style of execution which seems to realize our idea of perfection, it is evident that the capacity of the art for producing effect is exhausted. The best subjects have been treated in the best manner; and nothing remains for succeeding artists, but to repeat them under all the disadvantages attending imitation, or to do the best they can with inferior subjects, which, however well treated, must necessarily produce inferior effects. A somewhat similar result takes place in the other departments of art after they have been carried, in point of execution, to a high degree of perfection; but it is more remarkable in sculpture than in the rest, because there is no other in which any one or more particular subjects are so distinctly marked out by nature as the best. For these reasons the Apollo Belvidere and the Venus de' Medici will probably be regarded for ever as the *ne plus ultra* of statuary, the 'matchless boast' of the age, the country, and the unknown artists that produced them. We may imagine, though with difficulty, other groups of equal or even superior merit to the Laocoon; because in the infinite variety of actions and passions that lie within the compass of possibility, and of the figures which they respectively bring together, there is no one combination that naturally strikes the mind as positively superior to all others. But for single statues which produce the two great effects of the art, sublimity and beauty, in their simplest, and of course purest and most perfect forms, two subjects, corresponding respectively with these two effects, are distinctly indicated

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by nature as the best; and the boldest imagination is wholly incapable of going beyond them.

But while we think that Canova, in his attempt to copy these miracles of art has fallen below his inimitable originals, we are not prepared to admit that his genius was inferior to that of the sculptors who produced them. We conceive, on the contrary, that he carried the art to as high a pitch of perfection as it ever has been or ever can be brought to. We must estimate the extent of his talent, not by comparing his imitations with their models, but by comparing his best original works with those of other sculptors. Nor is it of course necessary, in order to vindicate his claim to an equality with the Grecian artists, that he alone should have produced a collection of masterpieces equal in number to the vast multitude of recovered antique works that fill the galleries of Europe. A single production of first-rate merit insures its author the glory of a first-rate artist, which is, however, doubtless more cheerfully and generally accorded when his genius is prolific as well as powerful. Such was the character of that of Canova. His works, in almost all the departments of sculpture, are exceedingly numerous; and the best of them stand, in our opinion, on a line of equality with the finest remains of antiquity. The *Theseus*, the *Penitent Magdalen*, the *Hebe*, and twenty others that might be cited, are in no way inferior to the *Fighting* and *Dying Gladiators*, the *Listening Slave*, the *Antinous*, and the numerous other antiques that belong, by general acknowledgment, to the first class. If none of them equal the Apollo and Venus, it is, as we have remarked above, because the latter are placed by the nature of their subjects beyond the possibility of rivalry. The Greeks are entitled, no doubt, to the peculiar honor of having first carried the art to perfection; but this was effected by a gradual process, and the glory of doing it belongs to the artists as a body, or rather to the ever memorable nation which produced them, and appertains in a very limited extent to any individual. It is indeed a most extraordinary thing, that among the vast variety of communities, under so many different conditions of society, which cover the face of the globe, one only should have discovered and applied to practice the true principles of taste in the arts. And yet, strange as it is, it is nevertheless certain, that in Greece only,—a little cluster of communities, hardly more populous at the time of their highest prosperity than the New England states are now, and oc-

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cupying a territory not more highly favored, as respects geographical extent and character, than ours,—in Greece only, we say, and in those countries of modern times which have been inspired by her example, do we find any approach to perfection, or any appearance of correct taste in the arts, although they have all been attempted by almost all other nations, and by many far superior to Greece in the principal circumstances which would seem likely to facilitate success, such as wealth, population, and especially stability of political institutions. To what particular causes the Greeks owed this remarkable peculiarity in their national character, whether to some natural advantages of climate (in which they yet seem to have possessed no decided preëminence), or, as is more probable, to their popular forms of government, which brought into action the sincere and unsophisticated opinions and feelings of the body of the community as the test of excellence of every description, is a question that we need not and cannot here discuss. The fact, however, is undoubted. The honor of it, as we remarked above, belongs in the main to the Greeks as a nation, and not to particular individuals, although we may justly allow a very singular degree of merit to those artists who, in each department, give as it were the finishing stroke to the work, however nearly it may have been brought to perfection by their immediate predecessors. The Ægina marbles, for example, now preserved in the museum of the king of Bavaria, are a single step only behind those of Athens. They exhibit the true principles of taste, and want nothing but the perfect freedom and grace in the application of those principles, which belong to the later school of Phidias. Yet the final effort by which this celebrated sculptor brought the art to perfection, though not perhaps more difficult than some of those by which it had been advanced to the state he found it in, has consecrated his name to perpetual remembrance, while those of all his predecessors are lost. To a glory like this, Canova can of course have no pretension. His genius, like that of all modern sculptors, like those of the artists of the period to which belong nearly all the antique works that have come down to us, like those of the authors of the *Apollo Belvidere* and the *Venus de' Medici* was inspired by the contemplation of the masterpieces of a former age. Next, however, in order to the merit of original invention, is that of reviving the true principles of an art or science after they have long been lost; and this,

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we think, Canova has a right to claim. He must be looked upon as the real restorer of sculpture in modern times. Michael Angelo is doubtless an illustrious name; but in all the arts which he exercised, though his genius was bold, creative, and imposing, his taste was imperfect; and he exhibits the extravagance which is one of the symptoms of a still progressive and immature style. In painting he was excelled, in his own time, by Rafael; and after the lapse of nearly three centuries, Canova has finally raised the sister art, from the point where Michael Angelo left it, to the antique standard of perfection, and has thus proved himself the Rafael of sculpture, and the Phidias of modern days. If the name of Phidias be justly regarded, and must always remain, the first and greatest in sculpture, that of Canova will rank for ever as the second, at least until the art shall again be lost, and some other happy genius, whose merit would of course be the same with his, shall again restore it to all its present lustre. In building, the taste of Michael Angelo, though not less objectionable than in painting and sculpture, has not yet been much improved upon by his successors. The architectural Phidias of modern days is yet to come; and the probable place of his appearance, if we may venture to say it, without awakening the jealousy of rival nations, seems to be indicated with sufficient exactness by the granite quarries and popular institutions of our western continent.

Such by the general acknowledgment of the age is the merit of Canova, and his rank when compared with other sculptors of ancient and modern times. But although the European public has been nearly unanimous in according to his works the tribute of enthusiastic approbation, he has yet found detractors even on the Continent; and some of the leading British journalists, though evidently in a great measure uninformed respecting his productions and character, have exhibited, as we remarked above, their usual national partiality by attempting to depress his reputation below that of one of their own countrymen. This is the more remarkable, because the real judges of the art in England have given the strongest evidence of the value they set upon his works, in the eagerness they have shown to possess them. Some of the finest of them have been executed for or purchased by the principal personages in Great Britain, such as the Dukes of Wellington, Bedford, and Devonshire, Lord Liverpool, the Marquis of Lands-

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downe, Mr Hope, Lord Brownlow, and the King himself. It has, however, been objected to this great artist, that he has employed his genius too much upon subjects taken from the Greek mythology. The proper business of the artist, it it said, is to imitate nature as he sees it around him. If he go back for subjects to Grecian history and fable, he will probably give us nothing more than repetitions of the works of the Grecian sculptors, since the direct study of nature is the only path to originality in art. It is farther objected that in some of his statues there is an air of affectation, and a profusion of unmeaning accessories in the way of ornament, which make them look like groups of opera dancers, rather than images taken from real life.

The first of these objections, which is stated in detail, and with an air of much triumph, in the London Quarterly Review, seems to be founded in the mere spirit of wanton hypercriticism, which does not even take the pains to be consistent and plausible in error. It is admitted by all, that direct imitation of particular forms, that is, the taking of portraits, whether in painting or sculpture, is an inferior branch of art. But in treating historical subjects, the great merit of an artist does not lie in preserving with strict fidelity the figure and costume of his characters, but in powerful delineations of the passions belonging to the situation in which they are placed. In order to do this with success, he must study nature in the depths of his own mind and in the varying action of the world around him; but in displaying the results of this study, it is wholly unimportant whether he lay his scene in his own time, or in any former one, or in the fabulous epochs and regions of mythology. Shakespeare drew his materials for the character of Macbeth from his observations on the workings of ambition in himself and his contemporaries; but the image is not the less true and striking, because the character is drest in a Scotch bonnet and plaid instead of the British costume of the age of Elizabeth. When a sculptor has produced a perfect image of the airy form, elastic step, and thoughtless gayety that belong to the spring of life, of what consequence is it whether he call his work *Youth* or *Hebe*, that is, whether he give it its proper name in Greek or in English? The Adam and Eve of Milton's Paradise Lost represent precisely the same subjects with the Apollo Belvidere and the Venus de' Medici, and with equal success according to the different capacities of the arts of

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poetry and sculpture; but is the effect, in either case, less striking because the nature so admirably delineated is not baptized with a modern European name? Would the 'fair large front and eye sublime' of Adam appear to greater advantage if his body were habited in a coat, waistcoat, and breeches? Are the hyacinthine locks that

> 'Round from his parted forelock manly hung
> Clustering, but not beneath his shoulders broad,'

less graceful than the flowing wig of the age of Louis the Fourteenth, or the convenient crop of the present? Every impartial reader will reply without hesitation in the negative. But while it is thus a matter of indifference where the artist lays the scene of his work, provided it be true to nature, there may be, on the other hand, particular classes of subjects which, for accidental reasons, are particularly favorable to the exercise of each of the arts. And without going into general considerations, which would carry us too far, we may remark, that sculpture delights especially in such subjects as allow the representation of flowing draperies and of the naked human figure. Draperies of all kinds occasion, as we have already suggested, an expense of labor for a comparatively trifling effect; and the stiff costumes of the modern world, however well they may be managed in painting (and even there they are in general sufficiently ungraceful), are intolerable in marble. The historical and mythological personages of antiquity are therefore really superior to all other subjects for the purposes of sculpture; not because there is a magic virtue in the name of Greece or of antiquity, but for the simple reason, that a swanlike neck and a finely turned arm are more agreeable objects to contemplate than a starched ruff and a sleeve *à la gigot*. In frequently working upon this class of subjects, Canova has, therefore, exhibited good sense and a correct understanding of the means of producing effect; while the perfection with which he has treated various other subjects of a different kind, demonstrates that he is in no way indebted for success to a servile imitation of the antique.

The other objection, that in some of his works there is a childish expression and a profusion of useless accessories, has perhaps some slight foundation in truth, but does not affect his general reputation, because it applies only to a few hasty efforts of little or no consequence. In stating that the groups of Canova appear like opera dancers rather than images of real life,

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the critic had probably in view two or three models for works in relievo, particularly those of *Venus dancing with the Graces*, and of *Helen carried off by Theseus*. In these productions certain garlands, similar to those which are often employed in the ballets of the French opera, are in fact introduced, and probably furnished the hint for this flattering and candid criticism. But without inquiring here, whether a garland of flowers, one of the most beautiful and poetical objects in nature, be or be not absolutely inadmissible in sculpture because it is occasionally used at the opera, we may add, that the aforesaid models were so little valued by Canova, that he did not even execute them in marble. They have been preserved in the collections of engravings by the effect of that religious reverence that attaches importance to every trifle connected with the objects of its just veneration. Among the finished works of Canova, whether of greater or less importance, only one, namely, the Group of the Graces, exhibits this obnoxious feature; but without disparagement to the better judgment of others, we must confess, that the garlands, with which these beautiful forms are entwined, appear to us to have been the happiest accessories which the sculptor could have employed to sustain his three figures, and at the same time leave them, as the subject required, almost wholly without drapery. Mad. Albrizzi, who criticizes under the influence of a different, but much more correct feeling, than the London Reviewers, calls it a 'happy thought to sustain the figures of the Graces with flowers.' This charming work was executed by Canova for the Empress Josephine. It bears the same relation to the antique group on the same subject, which the Perseus and Venuses bear to the Apollo Belvidere and Venus de' Medici; and like them it falls, we think, rather short of the model. The symmetry and finish of the figure are perhaps equally perfect, but the attitudes and expression are somewhat less fortunate. Instead of the easy position, and open, tranquil countenances of the antique group, we have in that of Canova an artificial twining of the arms, and an almost childish sweetness, bordering too nearly upon unpleasant insipidity, in the faces. The antique artist had chosen the correct posture and expression, the same which Canova would probably have employed, had he wrought with entire independence. But the latter having been requested to execute a work upon the same subject with the ancient *chef-d'œuvre*, and being willing to avoid the appear-

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ance of servile imitation, adopted variations in the mode of treating it, which were necessarily alterations for the worse. This group is the only one of the numerous productions of Canova, in which we have noticed any appearance of the affected sweetness of countenance, which has been represented by unfriendly critics as one of the faults in his general manner. Although, as we have already shown in detail, he has often treated the stronger passions with much success, Grace and Tenderness, as they corresponded with the prominent features in his own moral character, breathe of course through the marble upon which he had impressed it. But the expression of these amiable qualities is always governed by a perfect taste, and never deviates into affectation, at least in no other instance than that which we have now remarked. We may add here, that while Canova has, in all his statues, employed as little drapery as possible, and although his style be soft and graceful, in some cases almost to voluptuousness, he has never overstepped the limits prescribed by the strictest delicacy, but on the contrary has sedulously studied, more than almost any other sculptor, all the reserve which real modesty requires. So remarkable is this peculiarity in his manner, that even female critics of the purest taste have reprehended him for excessive fastidiousness. 'A light drapery,' says the Countess Albrizzi in her remarks on the *Psyche*, 'a light drapery of brilliant whiteness and of the finest texture, which forms an admirable contrast with the almost natural tints of the flesh, and does honor even to the chisel of Canova, is folded with graceful simplicity around her. But why, O Psyche! conceal beneath that envious vest thy lovely limbs, when, veiled only in thy ingenuousness and artless innocence, the thoughts of those who fix their admiring eyes upon thee become pure and guiltless as thyself?'

It would be impossible for us, within the limits to which we are obliged to confine ourselves, to comment upon all even of the remarkable productions of this prolific genius. Having noticed, in some detail, two or three of the principal sepulchral monuments and single statues, we shall mention somewhat more concisely a few of the groups, busts, and portraits.

Of the groups, the finest are that of the *Three Graces*, to which we have just alluded, the two on the subject of *Cupid and Psyche*, the *Venus and Adonis*, and the *Mars and Venus*. The two last are in our opinion the most perfect of the whole.

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The subject of them is substantially the same under different names, and is obviously the best that can be chosen for a group of two figures, manly strength and dignity brought into contrast with female softness, grace, and beauty. It is not treated in any of the antique groups that have been preserved, so that Canova has, in this instance, exercised his talent with perfect freedom; and his complete success proves, that when he has wrought upon the same subjects with the ancients, he has been, as might have been expected, embarrassed rather than assisted by his models. In bringing together in a group the natural types of sublimity and beauty, it is impossible that either effect can be produced in its highest degree, because the sentiment that unites the two figures softens in part the peculiar attributes of both. A group of this kind would therefore never present a combination of two forms as perfect as those of the Apollo Belvidere and the Venus de' Medici. The 'settled majesty of proud disdain' naturally melts into a milder expression in the neighborhood of beauty; whose ideal image must be supposed in turn, like the maid of France, in Milman's poem, to gaze upon the noble form of the 'heavenly archer' with 'more than reverence.' But though something be lost in the perfection of both figures by bringing them together, there is a new source of pleasure in the contrast of their respective beauties. Canova has, we think, done full justice to this subject, especially in the Venus and Adonis, and given it all the effect which it could possibly be made to produce. Adonis stands erect, with a hunting spear in his right hand, as if preparing for the chase. His left arm encircles the waist of the goddess, who stands at his side, with one hand resting on his left shoulder, and the other gently touching his cheek with the ends of the fingers. Her countenance expresses tenderness mingled with regret, while the young sportsman is all unconcern and indifference. His companions expect him, and his thoughts are already far away upon the distant mountain-tops and in the sylvan haunts of the savage boar. It is evidently to no purpose, that Venus is using every effort to detain him. At the view of this somewhat disparaging representation of the power of beauty, our fair critic relaxes a little from her habitual tone of unmingled panegyric, and gently reprehends the sculptor, in the name of the sex, for his want of gallantry. 'This delightful group,' says she, 'must command the admiration of every one, but will be least pleas-

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ing to our sex, who cannot endure, even in marble, that the sentiment which they inspire should be weaker than that which they themselves experience. If this subject had been treated by a female artist, undoubtedly Adonis would have been the suppliant. It is generally felt, that the figure of Venus, notwithstanding the seducing softness of her limbs, and the loveliness of the features, heightened as it is by the expression of gentleness and affection, is not so strikingly beautiful as that of her lover. Is this because she is in the attitude of solicitation? Gentle dames! what a lesson is this for us, and what can we expect when it is necessary to sue, if Venus herself in so doing loses her attraction.'

This group was executed in 1795 for an Italian nobleman, and is now the property of Mr Favre of Geneva. The *Mars and Venus* was executed in 1816, for the king of Great Britain. The two on the subject of Cupid and Psyche belonged to the ex-king of Naples, Murat, and were both at one time placed in the royal palace of Compiegne near Paris. One of them is now in possession of the emperor of Russia. They are both charming compositions, but inferior, we think, to the antique group. We have not room, however, to comment upon them in detail. Among the busts on ideal subjects may be mentioned those of the *Laura* of Petrarch and the *Beatrice* of Dante; with that of *Helen*, which was presented by Canova to his fair commentator, as a token of his satisfaction with her descriptions of his works, the first editions of which were published during the sculptor's life. In the subsequent ones, she expresses in turn her gratitude for the present. 'That enchanting Helen was to Paris the precious token of the gratitude of Venus, and now her image presents itself to my eyes endeared by the same noble sentiment. But this highly valued gift serves only to manifest the friendship and generous feelings of Canova towards me; for as to these imperfect descriptions of the delightful productions of his chisel, his indulgence alone in respect to them has made me proud and grateful.'

The chisel of Canova was comparatively seldom exercised in portraits (if this term may be used in reference to statuary), but of the few which he executed, two are particularly remarkable from the extraordinary interest of the subjects. We allude to those of *Napoleon* and *Washington*. The former is of a size larger than nature, and was executed in 1803 for

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Napoleon himself. There is also a bronze cast of the model in the palace of the arts at Milan. The *Washington*, as our readers are aware, was executed for the state of North Carolina, and was sent home, we believe, in the year 1821. The *Napoleon* is entirely without drapery, excepting a loose military cloak which hangs from the left arm, without covering any part of the figure. The *Washington* is clothed in the habit of an ancient Roman warrior. In both cases, Canova has, we think, exhibited a less correct judgment in regard to costume, than we should naturally have expected from his consummate taste. However superior naked figures and flowing draperies may be, for the purposes of art, to the formal and fantastic dresses of the modern world, we hold it to be quite clear, that portraits, whether in painting or sculpture, must be clothed in the costume which the persons represented habitually wore. The object here is not to produce the highest possible effect, but the highest effect consistent with the imitation of a given model. For this reason the taking of portraits is doubtless an inferior branch of art; but it has, nevertheless, its own rules that cannot be violated without sacrificing the value of the work, which, in that case, may be a fine statue or painting, but will not be a fine portrait, and, having been intended for a portrait, will probably, after all, not be an ideal work of the first order. In the statue of Napoleon we hardly recognise, even after we know it to have been intended for him, the well known form and features, and are disappointed, instead of being gratified, by the ideal perfection of the figure. The nearest possible approach to the person of Bonaparte, as it was at the period of his first campaign in Italy, with a modern military costume, would have produced, as a portrait, an infinitely greater effect. Napoleon himself does not seem to have been satisfied with the work, which, though placed in the gallery of the Louvre, was concealed from public view by a curtain. The *Biography of Living Characters* affirms with a ludicrous excess of political party feeling (in a passage quoted in our former article on this subject), that the statue exhibited at once so perfect a resemblance to the model, and so ignoble a form and countenance, that the emperor was ashamed to have it seen. Every spectator, not absolutely blinded by prejudice, sees at a single glance, that it is a grand heroic figure infinitely nobler than that of the subject, but of little or no value as a portrait, precisely from the want of re-

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semblance. After the abdication of Napoleon, it was presented by the allies to the Duke of Wellington, and now remains in his possession, a most appropriate and splendid trophy of his victory over the before unconquered original. The costume of the Washington is less injudicious than the *no-costume* of the Napoleon, but is not, in our opinion, conceived on correct principles of taste. The sitting attitude, employed by Canova, is also less advantageous than the upright one would have been. It is only in fact in a standing position, that the human figure displays its full natural dignity;

> 'Os homini sublime dedit cœlumque tueri
> Jussit, et *erectos* ad sidera tollere vultus.'

Now as dignity, moral and physical, was the peculiar characteristic of Washington, the attitude best fitted to express this quality seemed to be almost commanded by the subject. We were therefore a good deal surprised to find, upon conversing with Chantrey on the plan of his statue on the same subject, before he had begun the model, that he was wavering between a standing and sitting position; and we have seen with much satisfaction, that he finally decided in favor of the former. In this particular and in that of the costume, his work is a happier one than that of his illustrious Italian contemporary; and as his talent in this branch of the art is probably equal, the citizens of Boston may boast of possessing a decidedly finer statue of Washington, than that of Canova, though by a generally inferior sculptor.

Our limits will not permit us to enlarge any farther upon the particular merits of the different works of Canova, which amount in number to several hundreds, or even to specify their subjects. Our object has been to indicate the general character of his style of sculpture, and to illustrate our views respecting it by observations on a few of his productions. Nor have we room to dwell at length upon the events of his life,—his embassy to Paris in 1814, for the purpose of reclaiming the works of art which had been carried away from Italy by the French, or the numerous titles, crosses, and pensions, that were conferred upon him by the admiration and gratitude of the various sovereigns of Europe. 'No artist,' says his biographer, 'was ever more exposed to the intoxicating effects of honors and distinctions, exceeding perhaps any instance of the kind in the history of the arts. But although decorated with the equestrian orders of many great sovereigns, decreed noble

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in several states, dignified by titles, enriched by pensions, honored by important charges and functions, received with distinction at all courts, desired in all societies, and associated with all the principal academies of Europe, he still preserved the simplicity and modesty of his character. His disposition was naturally highly benevolent, and all his pensions and gains were devoted to useful and charitable purposes, so that some interference was often required to prevent him from embarrassing his circumstances by a too active generosity.' Various instances of his munificence are related in detail by his biographer, which we have not space to copy. He appears in fact to have been the chief patron of the arts and of those who cultivated them at Rome. Rome herself, during the gloomy period when she was deprived of the presence of her sovereign, and incorporated with the French empire, is said to have found her principal economized resources in the presence of this illustrious and indefatigable artist. What a fall was there, when the Eternal City, the Empress of the world, was brought so low that she could draw consolation and relief from the chisel of a single sculptor! What a contrast too, between these active and amiable private virtues, and the wild extravagance, the gross sensuality, the revolting eccentricities, which so often obscure the light of transcendent genius! What would not have been the happiness and glory of Lord Byron, for example, could he have combined with his powerful and brilliant poetical talent such a moral character as that of Canova! The contemplation of such a union of various excellences reconciles us with humanity; while the extraordinary success and popularity which formed, in this instance, the reward of real merit, consoles us in part for the frequent temporary ascendency of error, violence, and vice.

It only remains to notice, very briefly, the last moments of this interesting and well filled life. Canova had early impaired his health by intense application, before his reputation and success procured him the means of employing assistants in executing the less important parts of his works. When engaged upon the monument of Pope Rezzonico, he was obliged to make constant use for a long time of a machine which required a pressure on the breast, and thus occasioned a disorganization in that part, which injured his health through life, and was probably the cause of the schirrous affection of the stomach, which finally proved mortal. A careful, regular, and simple

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mode of living prevented, however, any immediate ill effects, and his labors were seldom interrupted by illness until just before his death. The great vital organ which was diseased finally ceased to perform its functions; and the illustrious artist resigned himself to undergo the common lot of humanity with a calmness and serenity corresponding with the beauty and purity of his life. When his brother, who was his constant domestic companion, brought him some of the last soothing remedies, 'T is good,' said he, 'very good, but 't is all to no purpose,'—*Buono, buonissimo, ma è inutile.* 'And yet,' continued the kind-hearted sculptor, 'let me taste it, that I may stay with you a little longer.' The last words which he uttered, and which he repeated at several different times, were *Anima bella e pura*, 'pure and gentle spirit,' a reminiscence, perhaps, of the well known address of the dying man to his soul by the Emperor Adrian, which is imitated in the *Dying Christian* of Pope. *Animula, vagula, blandula!* As the stern soul of Napoleon appeared in the midst of its mortal agony to be directing the storm of battle at the head of his army,—*tête armée* being the last words he pronounced,—so this milder, though not less lofty spirit, while hovering on the confines of eternity, was still engaged in the sweet and soothing contemplations in which it habitually delighted. We have already mentioned the period of his death at the commencement of this article. The funeral honors which were rendered to his memory in his native city and throughout all Italy, clearly indicated the public estimation of his works and genius.

'The loss of Canova occasioned the deepest affliction throughout the city of Venice, the power which regulates human destinies having conducted him to the tomb in that country where he had first drawn breath. The patriarch himself would perform the funeral rites; and the academic body, who were desirous of supporting his bier, conducted the coffin of their revered brother and master to the church, and thence to the hall of the academy, followed by so numerous a train, that that vast apartment was insufficient to contain them. The walls of the hall were hung with engraved copies of the works of Canova, so numerous that they appeared the labors of a whole race of artists, rather than of a single mind and hand. The president of the academy, an affectionate friend of the deceased,' (Count Cicognara himself,) 'delivered the oration, exciting in the minds of the assembly the same deep emotions by which he was himself affected. The only torch, which burnt beside the bier, stood on that ancient bronze which

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had, for so many centuries, been used to receive the votes of the patricians in the hall of the great council, and was deemed a suitable candelabrum for the last offices paid to the latter glories of the Venetian state.

'Immediately after the ceremony, the body was removed to Possagno, where an honorable tomb will be raised to his memory in the new church now nearly completed. The funeral rites were performed on the twenty-fifth of October, and a discourse delivered by a distinguished prelate to so large a concourse of the inhabitants of that district, that it was found necessary to address them under the open sky. Throughout Italy the deepest affliction prevailed on this event. Rome, who lost by his death the restorer of her modern greatness, decreed to him the honor of a statue, proclaimed him perpetual president of her chief academy, and ordered for him a funeral in the church of the Holy Apostles, of such magnificence that all the tributary arts were occupied for many months in the preparation of it. The Pope contributed largely to the expense; and the whole of the magistracy, together with the representatives of the first powers in Europe, showed their respect for it by their presence. Likewise Florence, Trevigi, Udine, and Lodi, gave each her public demonstrations of grief on this occasion; but none with more zealous promptitude than the Venetian artists, the kind friends and fellow academicians of Canova. Immediately on his death, they voted to his memory the grandest and most distinguished monument that could be devised. Not to limit the honor of this design to Venice alone, or even to Italy, the subscription was thrown open to all Europe, to whom his fame might be deemed to belong; whereupon the powers then assembled at Verona, following the example of our august emperor, severally evinced their desire of promoting this object by munificent donations; as the more distant sovereigns also did on the announcement of the project. So rapid and considerable was the subscription, that long before the ensuing spring they were in condition to begin the work.

'A monument to the memory of Titian had been designed by Canova in the year 1792, which it was intended to raise in the church De' Frari in Venice; but the design, which was to have been effected by subscription, failed by the death of Chevalier Zulian, its chief promoter, in 1795. The model being thus left on hand, without any prospect of its being carried into execution, Canova adopted the same idea for the monument of the Archduchess Christina, reducing however the dimensions, and with considerable alterations in the groups. The opportunity of restoring to its original state and colossal proportions, this beautiful composition, far more suitable to a consummate artist than a pious princess, and perhaps even better adapted to a sculptor than to

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a painter; the absence of all rivalship in the adoption of the design of him whom all considered as a master; and the means it afforded of employing at the same time the numerous sculptors who were anxious to pay homage to the memory of Canova, all concurred to justify the choice of this model, formed by the hand of Canova himself.'

During the last years of his life, Canova was much occupied with a plan for the erection of a church in his own native village of Possagno. This project grew out of another which he had conceived upon the return of the Pope to Rome from his exile in France. Though totally free from affectation and fanaticism, Canova was deeply and sincerely religious, a quality which seems indeed to be almost implied in the strong sensibility to the beauty and sublimity of nature that constitutes the principle of genius. The extraordinary character of the political revolutions of 1814, considered particularly in their influence on the interests of the church, produced so powerful an impression on his mind, that he was desirous of commemorating them by a work of his own art. He accordingly prepared a model of a statue of *Religion*, personified under the form of a colossal female figure, of the height of thirty palms, which he intended to execute at his own expense, and erect in some one of the principal churches at Rome.

'By the completion of this design,' says the biographer, 'the present age would have possessed a wonder of art and sublimity to which it has never yet seen anything equal, emanating too solely and spontaneously from the mind of the artist, wholly uninstigated and unaided by extraneous means. All Europe looked forward to see it adding to the glory of the Vatican, or adorning the magnificent expanse of the Pantheon. Already the model was completed, the marble disposed, and the chisel of the sculptor suspended until the signal of authority should be given by pointing out a place for its reception. It will be for history to explain the causes of the frustration of this devout and magnanimous design; and perhaps it may be found needful to draw a veil over the motives to which it may be traced. Posterity will with difficulty believe, that no place could be found at Rome for the reception of the sacred image of Religion. It is however certain, that the model remained for many years the object of public admiration, a masterly engraving being made from it with the following inscription, *Pro felici reditu Pii VII. Pontificis maximi Religionis formam sua impensa in marmore exculpendam Antonius Canova libens fecit et dedicavit;* and that finally it was

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worked in marble, a little above the natural size, by order of Lord Brownlow. The emblem of Catholicism was thus rejected from the Tiber, and found refuge on the banks of the Thames.

'This extraordinary circumstance did not, however, depress the mind of Canova, who, actuated by the deepest religious feelings, had already formed the design of consecrating his fortune and the last efforts of his genius to the commemoration of a period in which the inscrutable decrees of Providence had been so remarkably displayed. That the statue which he had projected for this pious purpose might not be profaned by any less sacred use, he resolved on raising a temple for its reception in his native village, to be enriched with the productions of his chisel; by which means also he would open a perpetual source of prosperity for Possagno, in the concourse of workmen, the visits of strangers, and the expenditure of his entire fortune. The first stone of this sumptuous edifice was accordingly laid in July, 1819, amidst an immense concourse of people, with all the solemnities of religion, and the deep emotions of the assembly. But the artist had not foreseen, that this design would require an infinitely greater expenditure than that of the colossal statue; to supply which it became necessary for him to renew his labors, and to undertake fresh commissions. Accordingly he set about new statues, groups, and monuments, working incessantly, and with all the ardor of his youthful application; his mind always intent on the great object of his pious wishes. It is not improbable, that this greatly increased exertion, and the mental excitation consequent on it, tended to accelerate the termination of his existence.'

The church, as we learn from one of the preceding extracts, is now nearly completed, and will doubtless be finished by the piety of the friends and patrons of the great sculptor and his art; but what hand is competent to take the place of his in executing the statue which was to have been its principal ornament? It is singular indeed that objections should have been made to the erection of such a monument at Rome. We have no further information whatever respecting their nature, than is given in the above extracts. The model, of which there is an engraving in the work before us, is certainly conceived in the highest style of sublimity; and if executed with the usual felicity of the artist, and on the grand scale which he had intended, would have been perhaps the noblest effort of his chisel and of modern sculpture.

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ART. IX.—1. *An Introduction to the Study of Grecian and Roman Geography.* By GEORGE LONG, Esq. late of the University of Virginia, now of the University of London; and ROBLEY DUNGLISON, M. D. of the University of Virginia. Charlottesville, Virginia. F. Carr & Co. 1829. 8vo. pp. 293.

2. *Elements of Geography, Ancient and Modern. With an Atlas.* By J. E. WORCESTER. A new Edition. Boston. Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 1829. 12mo. pp. 272.

THE general design of the work of Professors Long and Dunglison appears to be much the same as that of Butler, in his 'Geographia Classica; or the Application of Ancient Geography to the Classics.' But the Roman Geography, furnished by Dr. Dunglison, is left, as it is acknowledged to be by the author, incomplete. It was his wish, as he says, to add the geographical history of the Roman colonies and conquests; but his very restricted opportunities have not permitted him to do so. Professor Long also offers, as an excuse for small errors or omissions, the limited time in which the work was prepared for the press. The public have long since ceased to regard apologies of this kind, offered by living authors, or by others in their behalf; and with good reason; for there is not such a lamentable deficiency, in any department of learning, as to compel a writer to send forth his productions prematurely, or against the decisions of his better judgment. We would not be understood to speak with severity in this particular case. The work is valuable, and the undertaking laudable; but the admissions of the authors show, that it might have possessed more value, and have deserved more praise.

'The chapters on Phœnicia, Babylonia, the Scythian tribes, the Persians, Egyptians, and Carthaginians,' as Professor Long informs us in his preface, 'are founded entirely on the work of Heeren, entitled Ideas on the Polity and Commerce of the principal Nations of Antiquity.'* There is a remarkable oversight here in not including the chapter on Æthiopia, which,

* 'Ideen ueber die Politik, den Verkehr und den Handel der vornehmsten Voelker der alten Welt. Von A. H. L. Heeren. Göttingen. 1815.' It does not appear that Professor Long made use of the fourth volume published at a later period, and translated by Mr Bancroft, on the *Polity of Greece.*

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Mr Long says, was added by Dr Dunglison. And Dr Dunglison, in a note subjoined to the preface of his colleague, forgot to ascribe the article on Æthiopia to the same source, from which those on Phœnicia, &c. were taken. We presume it was merely an oversight; since from the frequent references to Heeren and to the same ancient authorities which he cites, it cannot be supposed that any concealment was intended.

The chapters just enumerated, constitute nearly one half of the book, and a very valuable part of it. The work of Heeren, from which it is drawn, enjoys a high reputation, and may be regarded as a standard work. 'If a pure regard to truth,' says Heeren, 'is the first virtue of a historian, I may hope that the reader will not be disappointed in this respect. In no part of the work was it my purpose to establish any hypothesis, to defend any favorite theory, or to gainsay any adversary. Instead of this, what I have found, I have imparted as I found it; that which is certain, as certain, and that which is probable, as probable. To this end it was necessary to exercise great care in the selection and critical use of the authorities from which my materials were drawn. I made it a fundamental rule to cite as authorities, not merely credible writers, but, as far as possible, those who were contemporaneous with the events; and to use later authors only so far as it could be shown, that their accounts were drawn from the period of which I was speaking. Their proofs were constantly referred to, and their citations subjected anew to a thorough revision. An unnecessary multiplication of them I have carefully avoided; while I consider it the sacred duty of the historian to annex them so far as is necessary; since he has no right to require that the reader should believe him upon his bare word.' This passage, from Heeren's preface, in which we have endeavored to express the author's meaning faithfully and clearly, while it furnishes, with great simplicity, the primary laws which should govern the historian, marks also the value of his own work. No German scholar, of such well-earned reputation, would hazard that reputation among his vigilant and learned peers, by professions which could not be verified by rigid scrutiny. And we have the testimony of a scholar widely read in German literature, the translator of Heeren's Reflections on the Politics of Ancient Greece, and of his Manual of Ancient History, in praise of his prior and larger work, embracing Asia and Africa.

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'It is on that larger work,' says Mr Bancroft, 'that the literary reputation of Mr Heeren primarily depends. With respect to the Asiatic and African nations, he has discussed his subject in its full extent, and furnishes a more distinct account of their ancient condition, than has perhaps been given by any other writer. Early in life he was led to consider the history of the world, as influenced by colonial establishments and commerce; and the results of his investigations, in a department of science to which he is enthusiastically attached, and to which he has uninterruptedly devoted the most precious years of a long life, are communicated in the elaborate production which we have named.'

We shall not be thought to have gone out of our proper path, in saying thus much of the source from which so large and valuable a part of the work of Professors Long and Dunglison is taken. Whatever goes to establish the fidelity and worth of the learned German work, is transferred in a degree to that which is founded upon it. And we are free to testify, so far as we have been able to compare the work before us with Heeren's, that great judgment is shown in the selection of the materials, and those only are chosen which bear most directly upon the general purpose which the authors have in view. We fully agree also with Mr Long, in the importance of attending to the political and commercial relations of the Greeks with the people of Asia and Africa, in order to study, to the best advantage, the history of the Greek nation. An outline of these relations is furnished, and the geographical descriptions, which are necessary to make us acquainted with such portions of those countries as were known to the Greeks and Romans. It would have been useful if the work had been accompanied with maps, as good as those of Heeren, if not better. This would not have greatly increased its cost, while it would have added much to its value, for those who have not constant access to ancient maps.

In the Grecian Geography, Mr Long ceases to take Heeren for a guide. Indeed the German author is quite brief and general in that part of his work which presents a geographical view of Greece; while Professor Long extends the subject into much greater length, and treats it with minuteness. Hence the latter is necessarily dry; so much so, that one would not think of reading it through by itself, in course, any more than he would a book of chronological tables, or a catalogue of an extensive library. But with good ancient maps, such as those of D'Anville, one may take the book as

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his guide, and by spending a few hours at a time, he will be able, in two or three days, to travel, without weariness, over all parts of Greece, and all the provinces that were colonized or conquered by its inhabitants. In this way it may be read with pleasure and profit, not unlike that which we receive from a book of travels. As a topographical guide, it is accurate as well as minute; and by a brief record of some of the most interesting facts in history, as we pass through the places in which they occurred, we are furnished at once with a guide and a journal, which relieve the tediousness of the way. Here we learn, or call to mind, that such a prince, or warrior, or poet, or philosopher, or historian, was born; and there that such a battle was fought, and that such a hero conquered. Indeed a great variety of local history is thus collected, and associated with places; and it is done too with good judgment, so as to impart much useful instruction.

The Roman Geography, by Professor Dunglison, is conducted according to the same plan as that of Greece, excepting the deficiency which has been already mentioned; and its execution deserves the same kind of praise as that which we have bestowed upon the Grecian Geography. From its topographical minuteness, this book may be regarded, perhaps, as mainly valuable for a book of reference. Accordingly it is furnished with an index for this purpose. But we are sorry to be compelled to say, that the Index is exceedingly defective. We are at a loss to conceive of any sufficient apology for this. It is incomplete in regard to the names of places, and very faulty in the arrangement of them. It should be perfectly alphabetical; but there is no uniform regard to alphabetical arrangement, except in the initial letter. Thus we find in the following order, *Firmum*, *Flusor*, *Fiesoli*, *Florentia;* and again, *Marsicum*, *Manduriae*, *Misenum*, *Marmora*. These negligences, and others which might be pointed out, render the book very inconvenient for one of its principal uses, namely, a manual for reference; and they deserve to be held up as a warning to all concerned in similar undertakings, against that hasty production of their learned labors, which is prompted only by personal convenience.

There is another subject sufficiently grave in itself, though it is difficult to treat it with that inflexible gravity which it merits. We mean the liberty which is taken with the names of persons and places in regard to the orthography; which seems to us to

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have been long since settled by custom, and the usage of the best authors. The laws prescribed by custom appear to us entitled to the same respect in this particular, as in the spelling of more common words. The advice of Dr Johnson, on this subject, is worthy of being called up; in which he 'recommends to those whose thoughts have been, perhaps, employed too anxiously on verbal singularities, not to disturb on narrow views, or for minute propriety, the orthography of their fathers. It has been asserted, that for the law to be known is of more importance than to be right. Change, says Hooker, is not made without inconvenience, even from worse to better. There is in constancy and stability a general and lasting advantage, which will always overbalance the slow improvements of gradual correction.' But our authors are of a different opinion, and do not estimate their learning to be of so little worth. Grecian and Roman names, which have been Anglicized, for a long period, by common consent, they have restored to their Greek or Latin forms and terminations, sometimes occasioning inconvenience to the reader, and generally producing a stiffness and singularity far from being agreeable. Going still farther in their work of reform, they have endeavored, in some instances, to purify Greek names and *cognomens*, from Latin corruptions; paying, as we think, a sorry compliment to the Greeks, who were themselves most flagrant corrupters of foreign names. Herodotus, for example, in giving names to the deities which presided over the Egyptian oracles, makes them all Greek; and every oriental name is Grecized or translated. But it is time for us to give a specimen of what we have condemned in general terms; and a few words will suffice. Thus we find *Horatius* and *Livius*, *Philippus* and *Alexandrus*, *Aristoteles*, *Manethon*, *Strabon*, and *Diodorus Siceliotes*. This last, since it is so much disguised, it would have been well to have written *Sikeliotes*, and this would have preserved an analogy between it and *Kelts* and *Keltic*, which are constantly used by the same authors for the vulgar appellations, *Celts* and *Celtic*, which have treacherously crept in through the Latin. Now and then they forget themselves, and fall into a Latin or English corruption; as *Euxinus* for *Euxeinus*, *Livy*, *Homer*. In the description of Præneste, it is said, 'From the heights, Annibal reconnoitred Roma.'—'Here Horatius read over his Homer.' Why is not *Homeros* entitled to the same kind of respect as *Horatius*?

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Changes similar to those made in the names of persons, are made also in those of places. Thus *Alexandreia*, *Antiocheia*, *Stratoniceia*, *Euxeinus*, *Acragas*, are restored to the Greek forms; names much better known in the Latin forms, and which are so noted on ancient maps. *Acragas* (or *Agragas*), the modern *Girgenti*, on the southern side of Sicily, is no other than the *Agrigentum* of the Latin classic historians; and it is inserted with this name in a tabular view of the chief places in Sicily, furnished by Professor Dunglison; but in the article on Grecian Geography, the ancient name is *Acragas* only; which might perplex a scholar who had not recently risen from the perusal of his Strabo. In the spelling of *Euxeinus* the author is not uniform. It is sometimes *Euxinus*, and sometimes *Euxine*. So also *Alexandria* sometimes occurs instead of *Alexandreia*. In regard to oriental names, the authors before us do not afford much occasion for remark. *Babelmandeb* is written instead of *Babelmandel;* and coming nearer the true name, we have no other objection to it than this, that it varies from the name accidentally adopted in English geographies and maps; and though it may be corrected in one letter, it may be still inaccurate in another. We would rather leave it therefore, as it has been once settled, like the name of the great prophet of the Musselman; for we should prefer to read and write *Mahomet* all our lives long, rather than be puzzled and confounded between *Mahommed*, and *Mohammed*, and *Mahummed*, and any other varieties which the name may have assumed.

The peculiarities to which we have adverted above, in the spelling of Grecian and Roman names, we cannot think commendable. We regret that such innovations should be made or countenanced by scholars so distinguished as Professors Long and Dunglison, the former of whom, in consequence of his high reputation for classic learning, has been transferred to the university of London. In scholars of ordinary acquirements, we should be very prone to call such peculiarities affected or pedantic. And the danger of giving currency to them is vastly increased, by the eminence of those who adopt them. We feel confident, that these remarks will not be deemed ill-natured or captious, since we are ready to acknowledge the substantial merits of the work, and are grateful for the aid which it affords to the student in the ancient classics. And it is worthy of being recorded, in honor of the university

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of Virginia, that, at such an early period of its history, it should send forth so creditable a book for the promotion of classical learning.

Amidst all the clamor, which has been raised against the study of the ancient classics, we are confident they are gaining favor among us. A wider view is taken of their end and aim. Instead of literal translations for the dull and the idle, we are procuring better grammars, more interesting books for beginners, and editions of authors for the schools, giving less artificial aid for interpretation, but furnishing explanations well fitted for the young scholar, concerning the design, the reasoning, the allusions, and peculiar expressions of those authors. The polity of the Greeks and Romans, and their relations with other states, are brought more into view; and in general their antiquities are becoming an object of increased attention. All this has something to do with the advancement of learning. Such helps cannot be lost upon the young mind, cannot fail to impart an activity and ardor, which will reach beyond the mere letter.

While we were taking this notice of the work of Professors Long and Dunglison, a new edition of Mr Worcester's Elements of Geography appeared, which is well deserving of notice in our pages. The author's reputation in this department of learning is so well established, and has been made known so widely by the testimonials of competent judges, who have borne witness to his skill and accuracy, that it is unnecessary to enlarge upon the merits of the new edition in these particulars. But as geographical works necessarily require alterations and additions, and as experience sometimes suggests useful hints in regard to the arrangement of works of this kind, it may be useful to give a brief account of the changes in form and arrangement, which this edition has undergone. These changes are described in the author's preface, as follows.

'The principal changes in the plan of the work are the following;—1st. The statistical matter has been separated from the book and formed into a series of Tables, which are inserted in the Atlas. 2dly. The Book and the Atlas have been more intimately connected with each other, by questions to be answered from the maps, which are inserted throughout the book, in the order in which it is deemed most suitable that they should be attended to. 3dly. The paragraphs which form the different sections, or subdivisions, have been numbered, and at the bottom of

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the pages have been placed, with corresponding numbers, questions for examination, which will be found useful as a help both to the student in preparing for his recitations, and to the teacher in hearing them. 4thly. Most of the proper names have been divided into syllables and accented, and when necessary, respelled, in order to indicate their pronunciation.

'In order to accommodate the work to these changes, and also to adapt it more exactly to the existing state of geographical knowledge, both parts, the modern geography and the ancient, have been written entirely anew. Some matter contained in the former editions has been omitted, in order to make room for other matter more interesting and important.'

These changes are certainly improvements in this elementary work. While nothing is lost in the quantity of knowledge of the subject which is imparted, something is saved both to the pupil and instructer in the amount of labor. This is the true and ultimate object in the arrangement and classification of the materials, in works upon the arts and sciences. For nothing is more discouraging to the student, than obscurity and confusion in these respects; and he should not be expected to systematize what an author may have thrown together without a well defined plan. We do not claim for ourselves any extraordinary faculty of invention in these matters; but it appears to us, that Mr Worcester has arrived at such clearness and simplicity in his plan, that nothing is left to be desired in this respect.

In the materials of the work there is nothing superfluous; and so far as we can judge from a cursory examination, it contains as much information upon the subjects, as could well be contained in the same compass. The ancient geography, which we have examined more than the modern, conveys a great deal of instruction in a small space; and in quantity of matter bears a due proportion to that of the modern.

It is difficult to furnish maps, at once so cheap as to secure an extensive use, and so thorough in the execution, and so fair and durable in the materials, as to make them very valuable. Our examination of Mr Worcester's Atlas has not extended much beyond the general maps of Europe, Asia, and Africa; which may probably be taken as a fair specimen of the whole. They are superior to those which accompanied the preceding editions of his Geography, and contain about as many names as could be profitably introduced, which are also selected with good judgment.

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On the whole, we consider both the works, which have drawn from us this short notice, well adapted to the end for which they were intended; and the latter is a decided improvement upon the stereotype edition, which had gained very widely the favor and confidence of the public.

ART. X.—*Specimens of American Poetry, with Critical and Biographical Notices.* In Three Volumes. 12mo. By SAMUEL KETTELL. Boston. S. G. Goodrich & Co. 1829.

'*Tout ce qui n'est pas prose est vers.*' Mr Kettell seems to have thought, that the proper translation of this maxim of the philosopher is, that all which is not prose is *poetry*. He has accordingly filled more than a volume with measured lines, which have just as much claim to be called poetry, as metre or rhyme can confer on them, and no more. It is a cause of regret, that a collection, which professes to be selected from the works of American poets, should have been made upon such a principle; for we think it rather worse to have produced bad poetry than none at all. As for the idea advanced in the preface, that 'everything published among us must have some value, if not on account of its intrinsic merits, at least as affording some insight into the spirit and temper of the times, and illustrating the degree of social and mental improvement in the community,' it is a doctrine we cannot agree to. It matters very little at what period, or by whom bad poetry was written, and we should hope that it would be set down as characteristic of nothing but the individual taste and skill of the author. Thus it adds nothing, but the reputation of bad taste and judgment to that for sanctity, which was enjoyed by John Eliot, the Indian Apostle, that he aided and abetted in making a wretched version of the Psalms of David; and Cotton Mather's punning elegies indicate nothing more, we hope, than his irresistible propensity.

Mr Kettell quotes the following extract from the 'Bay Psalm Book,' which was published at Cambridge in the year 1640, and was the first *book* printed in the English Colonies, although an *Almanac* and the *Freeman's Oath* had been printed at Cambridge the year before.*

*The first book printed in the NEW WORLD was at Mexico, in the year 1544, entitled *Doctrina Christiana para los Indios.*

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PSALM CXXXVII.

'1. The rivers on of Babilon,
there when wee did sit downe,
Yea even then wee mourned when
wee remembered Sion.
2. Our harp wee did hang it amid,
Upon the willow tree,
3. Because there they that us away
led in captivitee
Requir'd of us a song, and thus
ask't mirth us waste who laid,
Sing us among a Sion's song,
unto us then they said.
4. The Lord's song sing can wee? being
in strangers land, then let
5. loose her skill my right hand if I
Jerusalem forget.
6. Let cleave my tongue my pallate on
if minde thee doe not I,
if chiefe joyes o're I prize not more
Jerusalem my joy.
7. Remember Lord, Edoms sons' word,
unto the ground said they,
it rase it rase, when as it was
Jerusalem her day.
8. Blest shall hee bee that payeth thee
daughter of Babilon,
who must be waste, that which thou hast
rewarded us upon.
9. O happie hee shall surely bee
that taketh up, that eke
thy little ones against the stones
doth into pieces breake.'

We should hope this specimen was not intended to convey an idea of the taste of the age in which it was written. Most readers will discover little in it, except the extreme deficiency of the poetical gift in the worthy Apostle to the Indians, and in Thomas Welde and Richard Mather, his coadjutors in this task of versification. It is but just, however, to give their own words in regard to the nature of their performance. 'If,' say they, 'the verses are not always so smooth and elegant as some may desire and expect, let them consider, that God's altar needs not our polishings, for we have respected rather a plain translation, than to smooth our verses with the sweetness of any

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paraphrase, and so have attended to conscience rather than elegance, fidelity rather than poetry.'

The character of the earlier periods of the settlement of this country is to be sought in something else, and something better, than their attempts at poetical composition; and it is in vain to endeavor to give dignity and value to these by calling them characteristic of the age, or the people, among whom they appeared. Except that there is a prevailing tone of religious elevation in them, we discern nothing peculiar, or which distinguishes them from other specimens of inferior versification in the English language. And there is too little to make it of importance, even if the quality were better. Mr Kettell's researches have hardly discovered a half dozen writers in English verse, who were born in America previous to the eighteenth century, and a very short list brings us down to those who flourished in the latter half of that century. It was an age of religious enthusiasm, bold enterprise, and vigorous effort, and it should neither be asked nor expected of such an age to abound in examples of poetical talent. The succeeding half century was a period illustrated by the most noble and glorious struggle for liberty, that has yet adorned the annals of the world, and it requires but a cursory view of the versification of those times to perceive, that there is more in it of a spirit of freedom than of poetry. We do not mean that there are no exceptions; we wish to point out a general, not a universal rule; and to intimate, that the exceptions are so few and unimportant, as to be not worth contending for.

We should not claim for our forefathers an excellence, which they themselves would have condemned. The reputation of having written poetry is one which they can well spare, and which we should not be unreasonably ambitious to give them. They were employed in better avocations, and have given the world valuable lessons in more important arts, than that of poetry; and now, that successive generations have laid the broad foundation, and erected the firm superstructure of civil and religious liberty, it will be well for us and our descendents to add those lighter embellishments of the edifice, which alone are left for us to supply. There are very encouraging symptoms of the ability and disposition of our contemporaries to contribute their share, and the latter half of Mr Kettell's collection compares very favorably with the preceding. There is a great deal which is certainly not poetry, but there is also a large

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proportion, which displays that brilliancy of imagination, fervor of feeling, delicacy of sentiment, and power of expression, which are essential ingredients in the first, and indeed in every class of poetry. We wish the collection had been confined to those pieces, which discovered one or more of these characteristics. It would have been smaller, to be sure, but we should have been much more proud of a single volume, containing only good poetry, than of this miscellaneous assortment in three volumes. Our American claims to the reputation of having written good poetry, would likewise have been less contested and less disputable, if that which is really valuable had been selected and separated with a more careful discrimination. We cannot, therefore, approve the plan of Mr Kettell, nor is his mode of executing it without its defects. He has undertaken to give critical and biographical notices of the authors from whom he has selected, and he has, with the assistance of some of his friends, furnished us with several that are valuable and interesting; but we are sorry to say, there are many others that are miserably meagre, and betray an inexcusable carelessness and inattention. Charles C. Beaman, for instance, is dismissed with two words, 'Of Boston'; R. H. Wilde with two lines, and many others in a similar style of biography and criticism. If the life were too short to afford materials for biography, and the poetry too poor to be criticized, it would, to say the least, have been quite as well to omit the name and the rhymes altogether. There are others of whom Mr Kettell has given us very little either of criticism or information, who are much better poets than some to whom he has dedicated many pages of remark and extracts. Another error, as we think, is the insertion of many pieces, which were written for the 'poet's corner' of a newspaper, and which are much better adapted to such a distinction, than to the more elevated place they now hold in a collection of American poetry.

It is not surprising, that a few should have escaped the editor's notice, who have claims of a higher character. It would be unreasonable to expect, that the first attempt to form a list of all the American poets should be perfect, and we gladly bestow on Mr. Kettell the praise of industry and care in this part of his labor. We can forgive him for omitting one or two names, that we could remind him of, much more easily than we can for inserting several, upon whose productions we are very unwilling the national reputation should rest. It is to be

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expected, and indeed desired, that specimens of works of very various merit should be exhibited in such a collection as this; but Mr Kettell has been much too indulgent; and has honored with the name of poet many, whose claims are very doubtful; and some who are totally destitute of any such pretension.

After making every deduction, however, which the duties of our critical character require of us, there is much remaining which would be honorable to any literature, much which we are proud to claim as the production, not only of our countrymen and countrywomen, but of our contemporaries and friends. We cannot, of course, go through these volumes, and give our opinion of every writer, but there are one or two general remarks, which we shall state before we proceed to illustrate what we have advanced. In the first place, the proportion of female writers will be found to be uncommonly large, and it is nothing more than is due to them to say, that some of the best poetry we have to exhibit is from their fair hands. It is almost needless to express our pleasure at this fact, but we cannot refrain from observing upon its beneficial tendency. The influence of the female character is everywhere important, *but nowhere more so than in the effect it has upon literature*; and we feel confident, that the elevation and purity of woman will be shown among us, not merely in the productions of her mind, but in their effect upon those of the other sex. Nay, they are already shown; we do not remember to have seen anything in this whole collection, which could raise a blush upon the cheek of purity, or excite a wrong wish or idea in the bosom of innocence. It would be difficult to select three volumes, of such a size, from the literature of any other people, of which so much might be said; and when it is considered, that this comprises a very large proportion of all the poetical literature of the nation, we may safely set it down as a fair specimen of the whole in this respect. It is a characteristic of which we may well be proud, and which we must attribute, in great part, to the important influence of the better half of our species. The number of female poets of a high order is also one among many proofs of the respect in which the sex is held, and the excellence of the education which they receive. It shows that they are partners in all that is good or agreeable in life; that they are treated, neither like inferiors, nor like playthings and idols, but are invited to participate in everything that is honor-

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able, and stimulate our efforts in all that is praiseworthy. That country must be rapid in its advance towards excellence, where a high standard of character is required and sustained by the delicate and fair portion of its inhabitants.

Another remark was forcibly suggested to us on looking over the list of authors. The number of persons, who are devoted to letters as an occupation among us, is exceedingly small. Our literature is composed principally of the efforts of the leisure hours of men, who are actively engaged in the serious professions and business of life; of those whom we often see in the pulpit, at the bar, or in the counting-room; of men who might be expected to be wholly engaged in things far removed from the light play of fancy, and the charms of elegant composition. It is well when the relaxations of such men are of a character to do honor to their country and themselves; and it gives us no faint hope of our attaining a rank in literature corresponding to that, which we hold in our political and commercial relations, when we observe the strong and widely prevailing desire among us for literary distinction. Every feeling of the human heart has such free exercise, and is so fully developed in this country, that excessive activity and over production are now the universal cry of our political economists. It is a complaint which would not be without cause in literature. We really have apprehensions from the rising flood of publications of every description, and unless it be checked by the barriers, which the good sense and criticism of the public may raise around it, we shall probably be overwhelmed with an abundance that will prove neither useful nor agreeable. We have already expressed our opinion, that Mr Kettell is by far too indulgent, and we cannot but hope, that some severer critic will undertake a task similar to the one he has attempted, and give us a collection of American poetry in the highest and best sense of the word. That there is such will not be doubted by those who have attended to the subject, or have looked into Mr Kettell's collection; and it is but necessary to mention the names of Bryant, Percival, Halleck, Hillhouse, Mrs Sigourney, Mrs Hale, Charles Sprague, and a few others, to give an idea of the dignity, grace, purity, and sublimity, which may be found among our authors, and of which we wish to see a collection uncontaminated by the bad taste, the dulness, or the bombast, displayed by too many who are called writers of poetry. The names we have mentioned are too familiar to

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the readers of poetry among us to need quotation. We shall extract one or two pieces, which may be less known, but not undeserving of praise. Mr Kettell merely informs us of Milton Ward, that 'he published a volume of poetry at Hanover, New Hampshire, in 1826. Most of it was composed at the age of fifteen. The following is one of his earliest pieces.' If it be true, that the *Lyre* was written by a boy of fifteen, it displays a mind of uncommon promise. We have not often seen a pleasanter exercise of the fancy, or a specimen of more graceful and easy versification.

'THE LYRE.

'THERE was a Lyre, 't is said, that hung
High waving in the summer air;
An angel hand its chord had strung,
And left to breathe its music there.
Each wandering breeze, that o'er it flew,
Awoke a wilder, sweeter strain,
Than ever shell of Mermaid blew
In coral grottoes of the main.
When, springing from the rose's bell,
Where all night he had sweetly slept,
The zephyr left the flowery dell
Bright with the tears that morning wept,
He rose, and o'er the trembling lyre,
Waved lightly his soft azure wing;
What touch such music could inspire!
What harp such lays of joy could sing!
The murmurs of the shaded rills,
The birds, that sweetly warbled by,
And the soft echo from the hills,
Were heard not where that harp was nigh.
When the last light of fading day
Along the bosom of the west
In colors softly mingled lay,
While night had darkened all the rest,
Then, softer than that fading light,
And sweeter than the lay, that rung
Wild through the silence of the night,
As solemn Philomela sung,
That harp its plaintive murmurs sigh'd
Along the dewy breeze of even;
So clear and soft they swell'd and died,
They seem'd the echoed songs of heaven.

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Sometimes, when all the air was still,
And not the poplar's foliage trembled,
That harp was nightly heard to thrill
With tones, no earthly tones resembled.
And then, upon the moon's pale beams,
Unearthly forms were seen to stray,
Whose starry pinions' trembling gleams
Would oft around the wild harp play.
But soon the bloom of summer fled—
In earth and air it shone no more;
Each flower and leaf fell pale and dead,
While skies their wintry sternness wore.
One day, loud blew the northern blast—
The tempest's fury raged along—
Oh! for some angel, as they pass'd,
To shield the harp of heavenly song!
It shriek'd—how could it bear the touch,
The cold, rude touch of such a storm,
When e'en the zephyr seem'd too much
Sometimes, though always light and warm.
It loudly shriek'd—but ah! in vain—
The savage wind more fiercely blew;
Once more—it never shriek'd again,
For every chord was torn in two.
It never thrill'd with anguish more,
Though beaten by the wildest blast;
The pang, that thus its bosom tore,
Was dreadful—but it was the last.
And though the smiles of summer play'd
Gently upon its shattered form,
And the light zephyrs o'er it stray'd,
That lyre they could not wake or warm.'

VOL. III. pp. 340, 341.

George P. Morris, the editor of the 'New York Mirror and Ladies' Literary Magazine,' has written a pretty and delicate piece, well adapted to grace the pages of a ladies' magazine, and we believe it will not be thought out of place in our own.

'WOMAN.

'AH!—woman—in this world of ours,
What gift can be compared to thee?
How slow would drag life's weary hours,
Though man's proud brow were bound with flowers,
And his the wealth of land and sea,

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If destined to exist alone,
And ne'er call woman's heart his own.
My mother!—at that holy name,
Within my bosom there 's a gush
Of feeling, which no time can tame,
A feeling which, for years of fame,
I would not, could not crush,
And sisters!—they are dear as life—
But when I look upon my WIFE,
My life-blood gives a sudden rush,
And all my fond affections blend,
In mother—sisters—wife—and friend.

Yes, woman's love is free from guile,
And pure as bright Aurora's ray—
The heart will melt before its smile,
And earthly passions fade away.
Were I the monarch of the earth,
And master of the swelling sea,
I would not estimate their worth,
Dear woman, half the price of thee.' VOL. III. p. 351.

We are strongly tempted to extract Mrs Hale's 'Light of Home,' and 'The Gifts,' but we must content ourselves with referring our readers to them as specimens of just and delicate feeling, and conclude our quotations with the following stanzas by Mr Pierpont. We think them among the best for the occasion, which has called forth so many verses.

'INDEPENDENCE.

'DAY of glory! welcome day!
Freedom's banners greet thy ray;
See! how cheerfully they play
With thy morning breeze,
On the rocks where pilgrims kneel'd,
On the heights where squadrons wheel'd,
When a tyrant's thunder peal'd,
O'er the trembling seas.

God of armies! did thy "stars
In their courses" smite his cars,
Blast his arm, and wrest his bars
From the heaving tide?
On our standard, lo! they burn,
And, when days like this return,
Sparkle o'er the soldier's urn,
Who for freedom died.

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God of peace!—whose spirit fills
All the echoes of our hills,
All the murmurs of our rills,
Now the storm is o'er;—
O, let freemen be our sons;
And let future Washingtons
Rise, to lead their valiant ones,
Till there's war no more.

By the patriot's hallow'd rest,
By the warrior's gory breast,
Never let our graves be press'd
By a despot's throne;
By the pilgrims' toil and cares,
By their battles and their prayers,
By their ashes,—let our heirs
Bow to thee alone.' VOL. II. pp. 270, 271.

We cannot refrain from mentioning, in the language of encomium, the *Shakspeare Ode*, by Charles Sprague. It shines, in this collection, unrivalled for brilliancy, variety, and power. There are, indeed, few lyrical compositions equal to it.

One of the best parts of Mr Kettell's work is the very full catalogue of American poetry at the end of the third volume. Whoever examines it will have no doubt of the fertility of our poetical soil, nor of the increasing rapidity of its production.

ART. XI.—*Memoir of De Witt Clinton, with an Appendix containing numerous Documents illustrative of the principal Events of his Life.* By DAVID HOSACK, M. D. F. R. S. New York. 1829. 4to. pp. 530.

THE work of Dr Hosack is a handsome quarto volume of five hundred pages and more, one hundred and thirty-five of which are occupied with a Memoir of Governor Clinton, and the remainder, being an appendix, printed in a smaller type, comprises a collection of documents illustrative of the events of Mr Clinton's life, accompanied by a map of the Erie and Northern Canals with the adjacent territory, and miniature prints of the heads of some of the most active promoters of the great works of internal improvement in New York. The work appears to be a tribute of friendship, as well as an inte-

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resting historical and biographical record. The Memoir is a public discourse, delivered before the citizens of New York on the eighth of November, 1828, in compliance with a vote of a previous general meeting, and published at their request.

Mr Charles Clinton, the grandfather of De Witt, emigrated from the county of Longford, Ireland, with his family and a number of his friends, in 1729. They took passage at Dublin, in a vessel commanded by one Rymer, a savage brute, who killed one of his men in the course of the voyage, by striking him with a pipe stave, and starved some of the passengers by needlessly and purposely protracting the voyage to a period of about five months. Mr Clinton lost his wife, two daughters, and a son, before landing in America. After the vessel made land, which was recognised to be the coast of Virginia, the captain again put out to sea, notwithstanding the urgent remonstrances of the passengers, whom he gave explicitly to understand, that he should continue at sea until he had absolutely starved them all to death, unless they would redeem themselves from this sentence by giving additional passage money; to which, not knowing what better to do, they consented, and the survivors were accordingly finally landed on Cape Cod. The company afterwards established themselves at Little Britain in Orange, then Ulster county, New York, about eight miles east from Hudson river, and sixty from the city of New York, where their descendants remain to this day, and where De Witt Clinton was born on the second of March, 1769, forty years after the emigration of his grandfather's family from Ireland. The family have borne a respectable, and some of its members a distinguished rank, in this country, both before and since the revolution. Two of the second generation, uncles to De Witt, were physicians; one, vice-president of the United States; and James, his father, rose though various military grades to the rank of general in the American army of the revolution. After the establishment of independence, he retired to domestic life, at his residence in Orange county, from which he was, however, occasionally called by various important civil appointments in the state of New York, during a long life of seventy-six years which terminated in 1812. He married a De Witt.

De Witt Clinton acquired the rudiments of his classical education under the Rev. Mr Moffatt, the presbyterian clergyman of his native town, and at the academy of Kingston,

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then under the superintendence of Mr John Addison, whose name, says Dr Hosack, gave celebrity to his school; and we are careful to commemorate both of them, since every man who rises to distinction and usefulness, sheds some of the lustre of his reputation upon those who conducted his youthful steps in the paths of learning. Clinton was entered at Columbia College in New York, as a member of the junior class, in 1784, and was graduated in 1786, being one of the first graduates after the revolution. The professors, at that period, were, in the classics, Dr William Cochran, now vice-president of the college of Windsor, in Nova Scotia; John Kemp in the mathematics; and Bishop Moore, afterwards president of the institution, in rhetoric. 'It was,' says Dr Cochran in a letter to Dr Hosack, 'a mere accident that either that seminary or myself had any share in educating so great and useful a man. In the summer of 1784, his father brought him to New York on his way to Princeton college, to place him at that seminary. The legislature had passed an act for restoring and new naming King's College, afterwards to be a university by the name of Columbia; but no arrangements or appointments had been made, only a committee was empowered to provide in a temporary way, for what might be most needful. The late Mr Duane, then mayor of New York, was one of this committee, who, hearing that the nephew of the governor was going out of the state for his education, applied to me to know if I would undertake the care of him and such others as might offer, until the appointments for the college should be made; to which I readily agreed, and Clinton and half a dozen more were put under my tuition.' 'To the latest period of his life,' says Professor Renwick in his eulogy, 'Clinton was fond of acknowledging his obligations to those useful and learned instructers.' He believes that Clinton's future character and career of public services were essentially influenced by the instructions of Dr Kemp, under whose tuition he laid the foundation of that acquaintance with the principles of internal improvement, and of those clear views of national policy which he afterwards so fully developed, and applied with such advantage to his native state and the union at large. The capabilities for internal improvement in the state of New York seem early to have attracted the attention of Dr Kemp, and were particularly explained and illustrated in his annual course of lectures.

Having studied his profession of the law with Mr Samuel

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Jones of New York, father of the present chief justice of the superior court, Clinton commenced practice in that city in 1789, but soon after retired from his profession to be the private secretary of his uncle, George Clinton, then governor of the state, in which employment he continued until the termination of that Governor's administration, in 1795. Young Clinton was thus early initiated into political life, and he continued from that time to be constantly before the public in some office of distinction, or in some literary, political, or economical enterprise, to the day of his death. In 1797 he was elected a member of the legislative assembly. Afterwards successively, and at various periods, he was senator of the state, member of the executive council, governor, mayor of the city of New York, a member of the senate of the United States, and a candidate for the presidency of the United States. He was mayor of New York from 1803 to 1815, excepting two years. He was governor of the state of New York from 1817 to 1822, when he declined being a candidate for reëlection. He was again governor in 1826, and continued in the office till his decease, February 11, 1828.

Mr Clinton's memory is intimately connected with the great and triumphant enterprises of the Western and Northern canals, subjects which occupy a very conspicuous place in the Memoir of Dr Hosack, and especially in the Appendix, in which the author has made an extensive collection of documents, many of which are illustrative of what may be called the secret history of these works. Two hundred and sixty pretty closely printed quarto pages of the Appendix are filled with this subject, including the narratives obtained by the author from many individuals, who took an early part in this Herculean labor of breaking through the natural barriers which separated the east and the west. We have already, in a previous number,* given a sketch of the history of what is called the 'canal policy' of New York down to 1822, in a review of 'Public Documents,' relating to the New York canals, 'The History' of the canals published by Elkanah Watson, and 'A Vindication of Mr Watson's Claim to the Merit of projecting the Lake Canal Policy, by Robert Troup, Esq.'

Dr Hosack's professed object is to supply evidence of the part taken by each coöperator in this great undertaking, that

* North American Review for January 1822, vol. xiv. p. 230.

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his due honors may be awarded to each, and to collect materials in addition to those already accumulated for an authentic and complete history of it.

To understand the early proceedings on the subject of the two canals, we ought to take a general view of the territory, which is the scene of these stupendous works. Taking the western bank of Hudson river, and passing up its course in a pretty direct line, bearing a little to the east of north, and then following up an eastern branch, and passing the summit that divides the waters falling into the Hudson from those falling into Lake Champlain, and then passing down a stream emptying into that lake, keeping a pretty direct general course the whole distance, we arrive at the lake. This is the Northern canal, an improvement about the advantages and general location of which, there does not seem to have been any great diversity of opinion.

But the best general course of a canal, or other channel of inland navigation, between the Hudson and the great western lakes, was not by any means so obvious, though for the eastern section, only one route seems ever to have been proposed, namely, that by the Mohawk river. Starting from Albany you pass, in the present course of the canal, along the western bank of Hudson river, until you come to the confluence of the Mohawk with the Hudson, having thus far followed the course common to the two canals, the Northern and Western, and consequently bearing northeasterly of the general course to Lake Erie. But turning here to the left, you go up the southern bank of the Mohawk, bearing to the westward of northwest, and a little northwardly, but not very widely from the direct course from the confluence of the Mohawk and Hudson towards Lake Erie, until you come to what was formerly called Fort Stanwix, now Rome, the summit which divides the waters flowing southerly by the Mohawk, from those flowing northerly by Wood creek, and through Oneida lake, into Lake Ontario. As far as this summit of Fort Stanwix, or Rome, there was no question about the general course. But at this summit the question arose, whether to bear to the northward along Wood creek, through Oneida lake, and then along Oneida and Oswego rivers to the town of Oswego on the southern shore of lake Ontario, and not far west from its eastern end, and then take the lake about one hundred and thirty miles towards the mouth of Niagara river, which empties into it on the

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southern shore some thirty miles to the eastward of its western extremity, the course being very nearly west. You then turn towards Lake Erie, either in a southerly direction or one easterly or westerly of it, according to the point of departure from Lake Ontario. If the mouth of Niagara river were the point of departure, and Buffalo, the present termination of the canal on Lake Erie, the destination, the course would be to the eastward of south. This was one of the routes proposed as the channel of the great western transportation in this quarter, and no other appears to have been publicly proposed until 1807. At that time a suggestion was made, that there might be no necessity of locking down into lake Ontario, and then up again from it to the height of the Rome summit, but that you might turn to the westward at that summit, bearing, however, a little northerly in a pretty direct course towards Lake Erie, and keep the height of this summit. And it has been a question of some interest, and one which occupies some part of the documents in this Appendix, to determine who has the merit of first suggesting this route, upon which, as is well known, the canal has been constructed, though it does not keep the height of the Rome summit; and upon this question Dr Hosack's publication throws new light.

It had been asserted, that this over-land route was first suggested by Gouverneur Morris, in a letter to Mr John Parish of Hamburgh, dated December 20, 1800. But a letter of Mr Morris to General Lee, dated January, 1801, which we noticed in our former article on this subject, seems to put this question at rest; for in this he says, 'As far as I can judge from observation and information, the communication between *Lake Ontario and the Hudson* is not only practicable but easy.' Though Mr Morris had the credit of lending his influence in favor of the general system of inland navigation, at an early period, when his general, enthusiastic, and somewhat romantic views, expressed in strong and highly colored language, as his manner was, may have essentially promoted this enterprise, yet, until some new evidence is produced, there is nothing to show, that he originally suggested the route in question.

To a practical engineer, the mere suggesting of an inquiry, how near to the direct line between two given points a canal may be made, without knowing enough of the territory to form a probable opinion whether the route suggested is practicable, will appear to be an inconsiderable merit, and one hardly worth

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contending for. And so doubtless it is in ordinary cases; for two points being assumed, as in the present case they were, the very first question made always is, how near you may be able to keep to the direct course between them. But in the present instance the temptations towards Lake Ontario were so strong, as the streams led that way, and the facilities for canalling were apparently so much greater, and as the public attention had for many years been so uniformly directed in that course, it was no small merit to turn it into a new channel; especially since the utility of the canal, as we showed in our former article on this subject, mainly depended upon taking the over-land route. We do not, therefore, think, that the inquiries in which Dr Hosack, among others, has engaged on this question, gives to it an exaggerated importance.

Professor Renwick says, in a note to his eulogy, that this route was spoken of by Professor Kemp, in his lectures to the students of Columbia college, as early as 1805.

From the documents in Dr Hosack's Appendix, it appears that two other persons, originally and wholly independently of each other, publicly proposed keeping the interior and more direct course from Rome to Lake Erie. And as it is interesting to recur to the incipient movements towards stupendous results, we will dwell a little upon the subject. The earlier of these two suggestions was made by Mr Jesse Hawley, whose own account of the matter we will quote, as it appears now for the first time to be fully laid before the public; to understand which, the reader is to bear in mind, that as early as 1791 the Western Inland Lock Navigation Company had been incorporated for the purpose of improving the navigation of the Mohawk, and thence across the Rome summit and down Wood Creek to Lake Ontario, and had constructed locks round the Little Falls of the Mohawk, and cut a canal across the summit at Rome, a distance of a mile and a half, in so favorable ground, that it had been occasionally flowed, so that boats might pass from the head of boat navigation on the Mohawk into Wood Creek, before any canal was made. Mr Hawley's account is as follows.

'In April 1805, then a merchant at Geneva and concerned in forwarding flour from Mynderse's mills, owing to the very imperfect navigation of the old Mohawk canal, and various methods being proposed for improving it, I suggested the idea of an overland canal from the foot of Lake Erie, at Buffalo, (as containing a

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head and great reservoir of water to feed it,) to Utica, and thence down the Mohawk to Hudson River. These impediments to navigation would often call forth the expression of our wishes, that an arm of the North River had been extended into the Genessee country by the Author of nature, for our facilities of transport; but no one yet had suggested the idea of effecting this object *by a canal!* I occasionally mentioned my suggestion to my friends, and was generally laughed at for my whim!

'A reverse in my business landed me on the gaol limits of Ontario, in Canandaigua, in August 1807. Fully persuaded of the practicability of such canal, and having, thus far, lived to but little purpose, I thought I might render myself useful to society by giving publicity to the suggestion, and, in October 1807, commenced writing on the subject in the Genessee Messenger, a newspaper then published at Canandaigua, which I continued to fourteen numbers, in April 1808. My plan was a canal of one hundred feet wide and ten feet deep, laid on an inclined plane, from Buffalo to Utica, and thence down the channel of the Mohawk, with improvements in it, to Schenectady, and thence over the portage to Albany, for a time—to be constructed by the national government, rather than by an incorporated company of individuals—not conceiving, then, the state treasury, or finances, adequate to the undertaking. These essays were treated with much ridicule, and, by some, were considered as "the effusions of the manaic." The writer was unknown for some time.' pp. 301, 302.

The project was first proposed by Mr Hawley in the paper called 'The Commonwealth,' published at Pittsburg, on the fourteenth of January, 1807, as follows.

'It ought to commence at the foot of Lake Erie, as soon as a suitable place can be found to afford a draft on its waters—to gain and preserve a moderate descent of ground it will have to pursue a northeastern course for some miles; it then may pursue an east course and cross the Genessee River somewhere above its Falls, thence near to, and probably in the channel of Mud Creek, an outlet of Canandaigua Lake, and follow them into Seneca River; but leaving that, up stream to Jack's Rift, for the purpose of preserving the head of water—thence meandering along between the high and low grounds of Onondaga and Oneida counties, going south of their lakes, and let it fall into the Mohawk and mingle with its waters somewhere above Utica.' p. 307.

In the same essay Mr Hawley says, 'the project is probably not more than twelve months old in human conception;' and he asserts very explicitly, that he had before heard of no pub-

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lic suggestion of this route, and that it was wholly original with himself. The same subject is taken up in some of his fourteen essays, subsequently published in 'The Genessee Messenger' under the signature of 'Hercules.' Those essays are republished in this Appendix.

It appears that Mr Hawley's merit is confined to the suggestion merely of the general route. He made a conjectural estimate of the expense at $6,000,000, which has been mentioned as corresponding pretty nearly to the actual expense of the canal when completed. But this is a mistake, for Mr Hawley was estimating on a canal of one hundred feet in width and ten feet deep, *from Lake Erie to Rome*, quite a different one from that which has been constructed. And he also proposed a canal between these two points on an inclined plane, a very favorite plan with the early projectors, which does not seem to have been abandoned until 1816. Long after this route was adopted, the inclined plane continued to be a part of the plan. Gouverneur Morris was in favor of the inclined plane. And at a meeting held at New York city, in 1815, Judge Platt made an address, in which he says, 'I pointed at the stupendous project of a canal on an inclined plane, which had unfortunately been proposed in the report of the commissioners,' drawn up by Gouverneur Morris in 1811. Mr Hawley, therefore, only fell into an error, or rather a romantic extravagance, which was common to all the advocates of the canal for eight years afterwards. It seems remarkable that a conception so very bold as that of a canal on a regularly inclined plane, for such a great distance, should have taken such strong hold of the minds of so many men; the Roman aqueducts afforded specimens of works only approaching to the grandeur of this project. It was wisely abandoned in 1816, when the legislature began to take more serious and practical steps in the work.

As we have quoted the passage in Mr Hawley's letter in which he speaks of his circumstances at the time of writing 'Hercules,' we ought to add another from the same letter, which is dated at Rochester, July, 1828, in which he says,

'I claim the original and the first publication of the over-land route of the Erie canal from Buffalo to the Hudson—that, in it, I have been a benefactor to the public in general, and to the state of New York in particular—and I bless the Author of my existence, that I have lived to see it finished, having in the mean

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time, by laborious industry, attained, from bankruptcy, to a comfortable moderate competency, and being pleasantly located, within a mile of the canal.' p. 304.

The other person, who, without knowing anything of Mr Hawley's essays, suggested the over-land route, was Mr Joshua Forman, since Judge Forman, whose account of the first practical step taken in the New York legislature, in the splendid career of internal improvement, is too interesting to be omitted. He says,

'On taking my seat as a member of assembly, for the county of Onondaga, at the session of 1807–8, my bookseller handed me several numbers of Rees' Cyclopædia, to which I was a subscriber. I had early been acquainted with the projected works of the Inland Lock Navigation Company from the Hudson River to Lake Ontario, and had seen in the statute book an act to incorporate a company to lock up the Niagara Falls from Lake Ontario to Lake Erie. In reading, at my leisure, in the article "canal," an account of the numerous canals and improved river navigations in England, I soon discovered the relative importance of the former over the latter. Applying this to our interior, I perceived how much more the country would be benefited by a canal than by the works contemplated; and observing the number of profitable canals intersecting a country of such small extent from sea to sea as the northern part of England, it occurred to me, that, if a canal was ever made to open a communication from the Hudson to the western lakes, it would be worth more than all the extra cost to go directly through the country to Lake Erie. Glancing my eye along the line it must pass, it appeared to me, from the knowledge I had of the country, to be practicable. Sitting, at the time, in the room with Judge Wright and General M'Niel of Oneida, my room-mates, I immediately broached the subject to them. At first, Judge Wright objected, that it would be a folly to make a canal one hundred and fifty miles abreast of a good sloop navigation in Lake Ontario. To this I replied, that the rich country through which it must pass would, of itself, support a canal; and the benefit of a continued navigation, safe from the dangers of the sea at all times and from the enemy in time of war, and building up a line of towns in the interior, which must grow up on the Lake shore, if that was to be the route of transportation, would abundantly compensate the extra expense of a direct canal, over that of a canal and lockage from the point of departure down to Lake Ontario and up by Niagara to Lake Erie. The subject was freely discussed. Judge Wright gave in to the plan, and it was agreed by all, that the project was of immense importance, and measures ought to be taken to ascertain its practi-

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cability. I drew up the resolution, as now printed, which Judge Wright agreed to second, that it might lie on the table until, by the rules of the house, it might be called up. Without much confidence that the general government would construct such a canal, I framed the resolution to take advantage of Mr Jefferson's proposition, to expend the surplus revenues of the nation in making roads and canals, to induce our legislature to explore the route of a canal, which, if proposed as a work of the state, would not have been listened to at all; and although I had stated the proposition in a favorable light in the preamble, when it was read in the house it produced such expressions of surprise and ridicule as are due to a very wild, foolish project.

'Fired with the novelty and importance of my project, and somewhat piqued at the manner of its reception in the house, I took pains to prepare myself on the subject, conversed with several of the members at their rooms, and when it was called up, addressed the house in support of the resolution. I stated in evidence of its being practicable, that after following the valley of the Mohawk to Rome, it would have the valley of the Oneida and Seneca Rivers to the head of Mud Creek, an uncommonly flat country; and from the west, (if no better route was found,) from the Niagara up the Tonnewanta and down Allen's Creek to the Genessee River, the intermediate country, although nothing particularly favorable was known, yet as there were no high mountains or large rivers intervening, it would most likely be found practicable without any of those expensive tunnels or aqueducts common to canals in Europe. I presented a probable estimate of its cost, calculated from that of the Languedoc Canal, at four millions five hundred thousand dollars; this doubled, for the advanced price of labor, which I considered a large allowance, and adding a million for inexperience, gave ten millions of dollars, in my humble opinion an ample estimate for the work, which must appear a bagatelle to the value of such a navigation, whether considered in relation to the state, in improving the western district, and enriching the city of New York by the trade of the rich and growing country bordering on the western lakes; or as respected the United States, whose forty or fifty millions of acres of land, bordering on the lakes, would be enhanced in value beyond the whole expense by causing their rapid settlement, form a dense frontier barrier towards Canada, and by forming an outlet for their trade through our own territory, instead of its flowing down the St Lawrence, it would be an indissoluble bond of union between the Western and Atlantic states—and I recollect distinctly observing, that it would chain them to our destinies in any national convulsion.

'The resolution was adopted on the ground, as expressed by

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several, "that it *could do no harm,* and *might* do some good."' pp. 343—346.

The appropriation made at this time, for explorations and surveys towards this magnificent undertaking, was *six hundred dollars.*

Mr Forman was wrought up to great enthusiasm in the project, and in the winter of 1809 made a journey to Washington for the purpose of conversing with Mr Jefferson on this subject, and attempting to obtain the coöperation of the general government. Mr Jefferson, after listening to Mr Forman's glowing description of the advantages of the undertaking, and the reasons which ought to induce Congress to promote it, replied, 'It was a very fine project, and might be executed a century hence.' 'Why, sir,' said he, 'here is a canal of a few miles, projected by General Washington, which, if completed, would render this a fine commercial city, which has languished for many years, because the small sum of two hundred thousand dollars, necessary to complete it, cannot be obtained of the general government, the state government, or from individuals—and you talk of making a canal two hundred and fifty miles through a wilderness—it is little short of madness to think of it at this day.' But in a letter addressed by Mr Jefferson to Governor Clinton, December, 1822, he says, in reply to inquiries respecting the above conversation, 'Many, I dare say, think with me, that New York has anticipated, by a full century, the ordinary progress of improvement.' Judge Forman says, a report had circulated of Mr Jefferson's replying, 'he had remarked that it was a century too soon; but he was then convinced he was a century behind a just estimate of the march of improvement in this country.'

The miniature engravings which we have mentioned, are the following, namely, Gouverneur Morris, Cadwallader D. Colden, Christopher Colles, Jeffrey Smith, Elkanah Watson, Philip Schuyler, George Clinton, Jesse Hawley, Joshua Forman, Thomas Eddy, Jonas Platt, J. R. Van Rensselaer, and De Witt Clinton, with that of Washington, as an active promoter of internal improvement, though he could have had no agency in this particular enterprise. We have spoken particularly of Mr Hawley and Judge Forman, not because we suppose their services preëminent over those of others, but because the parts thus acted are more particularly related in this Appendix, which, in this respect, supplies material additions to

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the account before given of the New York canals, in this journal.

It is not to be supposed, that this stupendous work was accomplished without great obstructions and difficulties. Though its advantages and utility were obvious enough and immediately assented to, on its first proposal, yet it was looked upon by many as a splendid dream, which might possibly be realized at a remote period, but was to be long looked upon as a gorgeous possibility, rather than as a subject of any practical attempt. Mr Jefferson, upon the near prospect of its completion in 1822, regarded it as a phenomenon in economy not easily accounted for. 'This great work,' says he, 'suggests a question both curious and difficult, as to the comparative capability of nations to execute great enterprises. It is not from greater surplus of produce, after supplying their own wants [in New York], for in this, New York is not beyond some other states. Is it from other sources of industry additional to her produce? This may be.—Or is it a moral superiority? A sounder calculating mind as to the most profitable employment of surplus, by improvement of capital instead of consumption? I should lean to this latter hypothesis, were I disposed to puzzle myself with such investigations; but at the age of eighty it would be an idle labor.'

He seems to have in his mind the half intelligible speculations on the subject of *capital*, with which the economical treatises abound. The achievement of the American independence was an employment, or, if your please, an investment of capital, as much as the making of the Erie canal, or the introduction of steam-power navigation. In going to war we count the cost, as well as in undertaking any purely economical enterprise; but in computing resources, we do not confine ourselves to the use of the commonplace expressions of *capital, surplus produce*, &c.; we do not merely reckon how many dollars and cents our possessions are worth, but take into view the moral and physical powers of the community, and never doubt, that if these are roused to intense energy of action, they will supply the capital. Were we to sit down and speculate upon human affairs as the mere phenomena of a machine, the movements of which cannot be accelerated, or its powers increased, by motives and passions, we should undertake little, and only idly wonder at the small results developed by the sluggish action of a feeble mechanical system.

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If the emperor of Cochin China wishes to construct a canal, he does not sit down computing the capital of his kingdom, with the dry and sterile *sang froid* of Mr Ricardo, but orders out some twenty or thirty thousands of his subjects to dig earth and remove rocks. In this way, a few years ago, he did make a canal to serve as a ship channel, a distance of twenty-six miles, if we remember rightly, which was completed in the short space of six weeks, and probably no speculations were made on the subject of capital, or surplus produce, in his empire, during the whole process; and the result was, either that his subjects were fed, clothed, and lodged a little less comfortably, or worked a little harder that year than usual, as a compensation for which they had a canal. This emperor, being a person of absolute authority, can concentrate the energies of his empire to any point. The will, the firm and unconquerable resolution of a democratic people, may stand in the place of a despot's authority in this respect, and rouse, concentrate, and direct their moral and physical power, which is their living and inexhaustible capital, to as intense action and as magnificent results, as ever sprang from mere obedience and fear inspired by an absolute sovereign. But the difficulty is to stir this lethargic giant, the public, into action, and endow him with firm resolves, and animate him to wield his mighty powers with uniform and sustained efforts. It is a slight thing merely to project and point out great enterprises. Thousands of such abortively perish in mere conceptions. They pass as dreams, the romantic visions of sanguine imagination. Such, say Mr Hawley, Judge Forman, and the other early friends of internal improvement in New York, was the canal project for some time considered. The state wanted capital; they had no surplus products; all the efforts of their industry would barely feed, clothe, and shelter the people; to turn so immense a portion of their industry away from the supply of their immediate wants, would ruin them; they would not tax themselves for so enormous a disbursement for the benefit of a few residing on the borders of the canal; capital must be sought in Europe for so great an undertaking, to which that of the United States was inadequate.

It was in answering these damping objections, dispelling local prejudices, fertilizing sterile minds with strong hopes, and, in a sort, creating a mighty power by inspiring the purpose of its exertion, that consisted the Herculean labor of this great

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enterprise. And in this it was that Governor Clinton distinguished himself, and took the lead. When the project had been explained to him by Judge Platt and Mr Eddy, to whom 'he listened with great attention and deep agitation of mind,' after taking a short time to consider, he gave it his hearty support, and ever after uniformly devoted to it his time, talents, and influence, and involved his own popularity and prospects in life in its success, thereby meriting amply and gloriously the splendid triumph which has been awarded to him. In 1811 he and Governeur Morris were made commissioners to solicit the aid of the general government. 'Congress,' says Dr Hosack, 'peremptorily, and happily for the honor and interest of the state of New York, refused their aid.'

'In March, 1812, the commissioners made their report to the legislature, in which it was zealously urged, "that now, sound policy imperatively demanded, that the canal should be made by the state of New York alone, and for her own account, as soon as circumstances would permit; and that it would be a want of wisdom (and almost of piety) not to employ, for public advantage, those means which Providence had placed so completely in their power;" and with prophetic wisdom predicting, that it will ever remain "a testimony to the genius, the learning, the industry, and intelligence of the present age."' p. 102.

But the war of 1812 suspended, for a while, all proceedings in relation to the canal.

'After the war had terminated, many of the former friends of the canal appeared to be entirely discouraged, and to have abandoned all hopes of the legislature being again induced to renew the consideration of that subject. But Mr Eddy could not thus resign a favorite project; and it appeared to him that one more effort should now be made. His early coadjutor, Judge Platt, being in the city of New York holding a court, in the autumn of 1815, Mr Eddy addressed to him a note, requesting a visit from him the succeeding day. The judge, accordingly, accepted the invitation; when Mr Eddy proposed to him, that although the subject of the canal appeared to be entirely abandoned, yet, if it met his approbation, he would undertake to revive the business, by procuring a public meeting to be held, in order to urge the propriety and policy of offering a memorial to the legislature to prosecute the canal from Lake Erie to the Hudson. Judge Platt readily acceded to the proposal, and consented to open the subject to the meeting, if one could be obtained. De Witt Clinton was also, afterwards, called upon by Thomas Eddy in person, and united in adopting measures to procure such public meeting.

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A large number of our most respectable citizens met accordingly at the City Hotel. At that memorable meeting the late William Bayard, Esq. acted as chairman, and John Pintard, Esq. as secretary. Judge Platt opened the meeting with an introductory speech, on the immense importance of the contemplated canal both to the city and state. He was followed by De Witt Clinton and others.

'Although some opposition to the proposed measure was expressed by individuals of high consideration in the community, a resolution was nevertheless passed by a large majority in favor of the object. Whereupon De Witt Clinton, Thomas Eddy, Cadwallader D. Colden, and John Swartwout, were appointed a committee to prepare and circulate a memorial to be presented to the legislature in favor of the proposed Erie canal.

'A memorial was drawn and published accordingly, and was extensively diffused throughout every part of the state; and at the ensuing session of the legislature, was presented to that body. It was the production of the pen of De Witt Clinton, and evinced a perfect knowledge of the subject; with a sagacious discernment of its beneficial results to the state and to the nation. Of that splendid and celebrated production, which doubtless was among the most instrumental means of establishing the canal policy on a firm basis, it is remarked by a competent judge,* "that if Mr Clinton had left no other evidence, that memorial alone is sufficient to entitle him to the character of an accomplished writer, an enlightened statesman, and a zealous patriot."' pp. 102—104.

Among the articles in Dr Hosack's Appendix, is a very interesting and lucid account, by Colonel William L. Stone, of the legislative proceedings on this subject, in 1816, and subsequently. In the session of 1816, the uttermost that its friends could obtain, was a vote of twenty thousand dollars for completing the surveys. Mr Van Buren was among the number in favor of postponing the undertaking, and he had great influence in procuring a vote of the senate to that effect. The friends of the measure in the house, who had passed a vote to embark at that time in the undertaking, very reluctantly acquiesced in the vote of the senate. In the spring of 1817, however, Mr Van Buren gave the project his hearty and entire concurrence. And it was probably fortunate that it had been postponed, as great exertions were necessary to give the public a sufficient knowledge of the subject, and inspire them with a sufficient ardor in its favor.

* Jonas Platt, Esq.

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The first decisive act of the legislature for commencing the work was passed in April, 1817. The act, having passed both branches of the legislature, was in danger of being lost in the council of revision. Judge Platt, in a communication to Dr Hosack, gives a particular history of the bill in the council. 'Powerful and appalling obstacles,' says he, 'were presented in the honest doubts and fears of many sensible and prudent men.' After relating the opinions of particular members of the council, he says,

'Near the close of the debate, Vice-president Tompkins came into the council chamber, and took his seat familiarly among us. He joined in the argument, which was informal and desultory. He expressed a decided opinion against the bill; and among other reasons, he stated, that the late peace with Great Britain was a mere truce; that we should undoubtedly soon have a renewed war with that country; and that instead of wasting the credit and resources of the state, in this chimerical project, we ought immediately to employ all the revenue and credit of the state, in providing arsenals, arming the militia, erecting fortifications, and preparing for war. "Do you think so, sir?" said Chancellor Kent. "Yes, sir," was the reply; "England will never forgive us, for our victories on the land, and on the ocean and the lakes; and my word for it, we shall have another war with her, within two years." The Chancellor then rising from his seat, with great animation declared, "If we must have a war or have a canal, I am in favor of the canal, and I vote for this bill." His voice gave us the majority; and so the bill became a law.' pp. 387, 388. But the Chancellor had most probably made up his mind on other grounds.

Though so many distinguished men had embarked in this project and promoted it with their utmost influence, yet from Mr Clinton's position in the state, he seems to have more entirely involved his popularity and political standing, than any other, and he appears to have had the strongest claims to a personal participation in the splendid success which followed. But all his efforts and acknowledged services did not save him from one of those sudden and unaccountable political reverses, of which the life of most men, who are constantly before the public in any political character in this country, affords instances. When the canal was nearly completed, on the twelfth of April, 1824, the two branches of the legislature passed a vote removing Mr Clinton from the board of canal commissioners. The measure, which seems to have been connected in some way with the presidential question, was a

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mere party manœuvre, the policy or probable success of which, we are not able distinctly to perceive, from the account given of it by Colonel Stone, in a letter addressed to Dr Hosack, and published in this Appendix. The object, as he states it, was to draw out a minority in defence of Mr Clinton, who, being thus distinguished as his adherents, might be denounced as Clintonians. This denouncing process has often been found to operate with wonderful success in our politics, but we cannot see how it held out any good promise in this case, whatever turn the debate or votes might take. The proposition was suddenly got up, near the close of the session, and when it came down from the senate to the house, says Colonel Stone,

'A sort of panic seemed to prevail, and men looked at each other with fixed and unutterable amazement. As I have just remarked, the house was on the very point of its final adjournment, and many of the members were packing the papers upon their desks, as they were leaving their seats, when the resolution was announced. Mr Cunningham, who was a fine, noble-hearted man, and in reality what Mark Antony pretended to be—"a plain blunt man, who spoke right on," was in the act of putting on his over-coat. But though others stood hesitating and abashed, it was not the case with him. With but a moment for reflection, flinging his coat over his arm, he turned to the speaker, and with a countenance glowing with generous indignation, gave utterance to his feelings in the following bold and manly sentiments, in language warm, and proceeding spontaneously from the heart.

'"Mr Cunningham said he arose with no ordinary feelings of surprise and astonishment at the resolution just read as coming from the senate. Sir, said Mr Cunningham, it is calculated to arouse the feelings of every honorable gentleman on this floor; its very approach is marked with black ingratitude and base design. I do not wish, said Mr Cunningham, to speak disrespectfully of a coördinate branch of the legislature, nor to impute their acts to improper motives, but I hope I may be permitted to inquire, for what good and honorable purpose has this resolution been sent here for concurrence, at the very last moment of the session.

'"Is it to create discord amongst us, and destroy that harmony and good feeling which ought to prevail at our separation? We have, said Mr Cunningham, spent rising of three months in legislation, and not one word has been dropped intimating a desire or intention to expel that honorable gentleman from the board of canal commissioners. Sir, he was called to that place by the united voice and common consent of the people of this state, on account of his peculiar and transcendent fitness to preside at that board, and by his counsel stimulate and forward the great un-

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dertaking; his labor for years has been arduous and unceasing for the public good; he endured slander and persecution from every direction like a Christian martyr; but steadfast in his purpose, he pursued his course with a firm and steady step, until all was crowned with success, and the most flagrant of his opposers sat in sullen silence.

'"For what, let me inquire, did Mr Clinton endure all this? Was it for the sake of salary? No, sir; it was for the honor and welfare of his state; it was from noble and patriotic motives, and for which he asked nothing, received nothing, nor did he expect anything but the gratitude of his countrymen.

'"Now, sir, said Mr Cunningham, I put the question to this honorable house to decide, upon the oath which they have taken, and upon their sense of propriety and honor, whether they are ready by their votes to commit the sin of ingratitude.

'"I hope, said Mr Cunningham, there is yet a redeeming spirit in this house; that we shall not be guilty of so great an outrage. If we concur in this resolution, we shall take upon ourselves an awful responsibility, and one for which our constituents will call us to strict account. What, let me ask, shall we answer in excuse for ourselves when we return to an inquisitive and watchful people? What can we charge to Mr Clinton? what can we say that he has been guilty of, that he should now be singled out as an object of state persecution? Will some friend of this resolution be kind enough to inform me? Sir, I challenge inquiry. I demand from the supporters of this high-handed measure, that they lay their hands upon their hearts, and answer me truly, for what cause is the man to be removed?'

'"The senate, it appears, have been actuated by some cruel and malignant passion, unaccounted for, and have made a rush upon this house, and taken us on surprise. The resolution may pass; but if it does, my word for it, we are disgraced in the judgment and good sense of an injured but intelligent community. Whatever the fate of this resolution may be, let it be remembered, that Mr Clinton has acquired a reputation not to be destroyed by the pitiful malice of a few leading partisans of the day.

'"When the contemptible party strifes of the present day shall have passed by, and the political bargainers and jugglers who now hang round this capitol for subsistence, shall be overwhelmed and forgotten in their own insignificance; when the gentle breeze shall pass over the tomb of that great man, carrying with it the just tribute of honor and praise which is now withheld; the pen of the future historian, in better days and in better times, will do him justice, and erect to his memory a proud monument of fame, as imperishable as the splendid works which owe their origin to his genius and perseverance."' pp. 483—485.

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This appeal had no effect. 'Many of the ablest and best men,' says Colonel Stone, 'though pricked to the heart with the injustice of the deed, yet were fearful of snares and pitfals, and in the doubt and perturbation of the moment, voted for the resolution.' The result was all that the friends to civil liberty and foes to proscription and intolerance could have desired. This act aroused the spirit of the people to the highest pitch of excitement.

'For fourteen years De Witt Clinton had held the office of a commissioner on the subject of canals, during which period he had bent all the energies of his soul, and all the resources of his capacious mind, to the accomplishment of these mighty works. For years he had to struggle against an opposition, which, it might be supposed would have appalled the most daring, and overwhelmed the stoutest heart. But he breasted himself to the torrent like a giant, and not only turned its current back, but by his resistless powers, compelled his foes to do homage to the triumphs of his genius. And the whole of this period of fourteen years had been devoted to this branch of the public service, without salary or compensation. The intelligence spread with the rapidity of lightning, and the fire of indignation followed in its train. Public meetings were called, and attended by overwhelming numbers, in every part of the state. From Sag-Harbor to Niagara, there was a spontaneous demand from the people to bring back the persecuted patriot and statesman from his retirement. The sequel is known. Mr Clinton was again called to the chief magistracy of the state, by a majority then unparalleled in the annals of our contested elections.' p. 486.

On this subject we shall only add a notice of the final celebration of the completion of the chain of union between the east and the west, in the latter part of October and beginning of November, 1825, the work having been finally completed on the twenty-sixth of October of that year. It was a jubilee worthy of the work and of the state. At that time Mr Clinton was at the zenith of his popularity, being again chief magistrate of the state, and in the full fruition of the respect, gratitude, and confidence of the people. An arrangement had been made for a succession of *fêtes* from Lake Erie to New York city. Governor Clinton, attended by some of his friends and those of the great national work, the completion of which was to be celebrated, was to enter the canal from Lake Erie, and meet assemblies of the citizens on successive days at different points, and join them in festivities, attending public ad-

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dresses, and celebrating the epoch with the pomp of processions and ceremonials, that might suitably express the feelings of generous triumph and gratulation which animated every bosom. But to prevent any disappointment, in case the work should not be completed at the time anticipated, and also to give some sensible signal, that all the people along this line of more than five hundred miles, were participating with each other in these triumphant gratulations, a line of cannon was formed from point to point within hearing distance, along the whole of the route from Buffalo to New York city. A signal was fired at the moment the boat entered the canal from Lake Erie, and this signal was answered and transmitted through the whole line, and again repeated and transmitted back from New York to Lake Erie, where, three hours after the first signal was given, it was announced that it had been acknowledged and returned through the whole distance. The procession of boats left Buffalo on the twenty-sixth of October, eight years and four months from the time of breaking ground at Rome on the fourth of July, with ceremonies and addresses appropriate to the beginning of so great a work. The procession arrived at New York city on the seventh of November. All circumstances concurred to make this celebration as gratifying and joyous as it was pompous and splendid. Every bosom glowed with one sentiment of generous pride and grateful exultation, and the expressions of humble religious gratitude, uttered by the organs of the public voice, at the successive festivals, were responded with heart-felt sincerity by the assembled multitudes. No lurking envy, or captious exceptions and doubts, or sinister forebodings of warning voices, disturbed the harmony, or damped the general enthusiasm. It was a celebration worthy to be the last scene of so great a work.

Had governor Clinton rendered no other public services than those connected with this work, he would have deserved a high place in his native state and his country, and his character would have filled a bright page in the national history. But his other labors equally make him the ornament and pride of his age; and rendered him a worthy subject of the many honors showered upon him in his own country and from abroad.

'At a very early period of his life, he acquired and cultivated habits of great industry; he rose at an early hour at all seasons of the year. He observed the utmost punctuality in all his en-

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gagements; this too he was the better enabled to accomplish, by means of the order and regularity with which he divided the several duties of the day; illustrating by example that well known truth, that he who has the most numerous avocations, is the most attentive and the most punctual in the performance of all; every hour not occupied by his numerous public duties, was devoted to general literature. History, poetry, taste, belles-lettres, metaphysics, natural history, theology, all in turn occupied those portions of his time, not devoted to public business, or the duties of the various stations he filled; and he studiously noted with his pen every fact or principle that he deemed important, or that might be rendered subservient to his intellectual improvement, or to the profit of others; by this habit of collecting in his common-place book what he considered of value, he was enabled to concentrate the ample stores of his knowledge upon the various subjects which occupied his more immediate pursuit; even those smaller portions of the day that are lost by most men, were not unemployed by him; like the goldsmith, who carefully accumulates the smaller particles that drop beneath his hand, and which collected, constitute the ingot, Mr Clinton, in like manner, carefully treasured up the minutest fragments of time, which though inconsiderable in themselves, compose an aggregate of great value.'

'The ordinary and more frivolous amusements of fashionable life presented no attractions to his mind; on the contrary, they were by him, I believe through life, most studiously avoided, as not only involving the loss of time, money, and reputation, but utterly incompatible with those pursuits and views that belong to a man who has at heart his dignity of character, the higher interests of science, or his country's welfare.

'This leads me to notice the merits of Mr Clinton as a writer and speaker. Mr Clinton, as a public speaker, was slow and deliberate in his manner, manifesting the constant exercise of his understanding while in the act of delivery; he also observed great order in the plan of his discourse, arranging his arguments with precision, and with the view of giving to each its appropriate place and effect, exhibiting thereby much previous and careful consideration of his subject; yet such was the quickness of his perception and power of analysis, that he did not require long preparatory deliberation to embrace a full view of the merits of the question which came before him.'

'Such were the ample stores of his mind, that when an extemporaneous expression of his views or opinions was demanded, whether upon the seat of justice, the floor of the senate, or upon any other public occasion, at the shortest notice he could summon to his purpose all the resources of his highly gifted and

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cultivated understanding; with these at his command, it may be added, Mr Clinton was enabled to give full force to the discussion in which he was engaged, and to avail himself of the peculiar advantage it afforded him of directing his attention to, and of observing the effects of his argument upon every individual of the body he addressed. Such too was his perception of the effect produced upon his auditory, that I have often heard him say, that when speaking in the senate, or other deliberative assemblies, he could decide at the moment the probable result of his address, and at once ascertain, how far it was safe to urge the question immediately to a decision, or to suggest the expediency of deferring such decision to a more distant day, when he could have the opportunity of adding to the friends of the measure he wished to accomplish.'

'He never indulged in rant or vehemence, either in voice or gesture, yet his clear and logical method and arrangement, the force and perspicuity of style, and dignity of manner, his strong and manly tone of voice, united with his undaunted firmness, gave to his discourse, whether in the judgment-seat or in the hall of legislation, an influence and effect, which no other individual, except the lamented Hamilton, Wells, and Emmet, has ever exercised in our state. As far as inductive reasoning, happy illustration, strong and vigorous language, a style always dignified, and oftentimes highly ornamented, can be considered as constituting eloquence, and are calculated to arrest the attention, and to carry conviction to his auditory, Mr Clinton is entitled to the denomination of an eloquent speaker.' pp. 37—41.

His style, not remarkable for precision of thought, or refinement and accuracy of expression, is animated, bold, and strong; the language lofty and sweeping; the illustrations and allusions, though not always in the most exact taste, drawn from a wide range of reading and study, are always striking. The style, on the whole, faithfully exhibits the expanded views, lofty motives, the elevation above the petty manœuvring and wily intrigues of party, the stern integrity and fearless intrepidity of the man.

Though during a great part of his active life he was tossing among the currents and eddies of our turbulent politics, sufficiently boisterous and agitated in every part of the country, but not least so in New York, yet he snatched a great deal of time for more quiet pursuits, the solaces of reflection and intellectual culture, and cheerfully lent his talents, influence, and labors to various charitable, literary, and economical objects. He was an active member of the New York Historical Socie-

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ty, which is greatly indebted to him for its present flourishing condition, and promise of future usefulness. His Discourse before that society on Indian character and antiquities, is the fruit of great industry and research in a course of studies diverging widely from his ordinary pursuits. He was an active member of the Academy of Arts, contributed materially towords the establishment of the Orphan Asylum, the system of public schools, the agricultural societies, the New York City Hospital, the free-school societies. Every philanthropical institution or enterprise found in him a ready, zealous, indefatigable, and powerful friend; the eyes that saw him blessed him, and in future generations thousands will bless without seeing him.

He was a highly distinguished member of the masonic fraternity. We will not enter here into the question of the utility, expediency, or safety of these societies, in respect to which the public has of late been excited. But no doubt the influence obtained by Mr Clinton as a member of this fraternity, greatly extended his means of public usefulness.

'Yielding faith,' says Dr Hosack, 'to the doctrine of contagion, as taught and sustained by the highest authorities in medical philosophy, Mr Clinton was the most strenuous advocate of the most rigorous system of quarantine regulations." Though this is doubtless meant by the author in commendation, it will be considered otherwise by a vast body of the medical profession, as well as others; and admitting the doctrine of contagion in its full latitude, it would not thence follow that the most rigid quarentine regulations are the best. One of the severe quarentine regulations is that of imprisonment, which is undoubtedly justifiable, when required by the safety of the community; but the necessity certainly ought to be pretty satisfactorily made out.

'Upon the most rigid scrutiny of his productions, not a line or word will be found to justify a resort to implied authority from ambiguous phraseology, or to the tyrant's "plea of necessity," for a latitude of construction in ascertaining the extent of limited grants of power. On the contrary, as a Senator, as a Judge, and as a Governor of the State, he constantly repressed the claims of power, steadily resisted the encroachments of the different branches of the government upon the province of each other, and firmly, at much hazard, vindicated the sovereignty of the State, and the individual rights of the citizen.' p. 43.

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On some occasions, of which this Memoir supplies instances, Mr Clinton showed himself the assertor of the authority of the laws in opposition to the momentary excitements of popular feeling. We are not, therefore, to infer from the above passage, that he carried his apprehensions of the usurpations of authority to the extreme of screening the criminal from the just penalties of the violated laws. The general expression above quoted of "vindicating the sovereignty of the State" has some reference, we presume, to those passages in Governor Clinton's addresses and messages relating to the jurisdiction and legal administration of the courts of the United States. But we think the ground taken by him on this subject, was at least very questionable; we certainly should not choose these passages as the fittest subjects of eulogy.

Mr Clinton died at Albany on the eleventh day of February 1828. The concluding scene of his life is thus described;

'On the Friday preceding his death, after a long conversation I held with him in his library, I bade him a last farewell, under the fullest conviction, as I confidently expressed to his more immediate friends, that I should never see Mr Clinton more.

'On the Monday following, the eleventh of February, he performed his ordinary duties at the capitol; rode a few miles into the country with his family; returned to town; met some friends at dinner, and afterwards, as was his habit, retired to his study for the transaction of official business, and his accustomed literary pursuits. While sitting in his library, he was suddenly seized with a sense of oppression and stricture across the chest; he spoke to his son sitting near him, who was then writing, performing some duty that had been directed by his father, described to him the distressful and, as he feared, fatal sensation he experienced. Medical aid was instantly called for. By the direction of his son, some drink was given him. He walked into the hall, but soon returned to his chair in the library;—the hand of death was upon him—his head fell upon his breast. A physician arrived, but too late;—all efforts, though unremittingly continued for some hours, to recall his parting spirit, proved unavailing;—sense—consciousness—intelligence—had fled for ever;—Clinton was no more.' p. 131.

Mr Clinton's 'person was tall, exceeding six feet in height, of a fine form, and well proportioned. In his earlier years he was remarkable for his thin and slender make; but in the latter part of his life, his frame became expanded, and in consequence of lameness from an accidental injury, by which he was deprived of his customary exercise, he acquired a fulness of habit, which predis-

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posed him to the diseases that ultimately supervened, and in their consequences led to his dissolution. His carriage was elevated; his movements deliberate and dignified, sometimes manifesting great earnestness, but never precipitancy.

'His head was well formed and particularly distinguished for the great height and breadth of his forehead; his hair was brown; his complexion brilliant; his nose finely proportioned and of the Grecian form; his lip thin, and of that peculiar configuration that some critics have deemed indicative of eloquence.

'His eyes were of a dark hazel color, but peculiarly quick and expressive; sometimes indicating all the playfulness of the most vivid imagination; upon other occasions, moistened with a tear, displaying the most tender emotion that can weigh upon the heart; but when a sense of injury or wrong called for redress, the same eye could flash the fire of indignation in expressing the powerful feelings that were then passing through his mind. The muscles of his face, especially when exercised in conversation, or in public speaking, were strongly marked, and exhibited the impulse and energy of the soul that animated them.' p. 120.

'In all the changes of a long and eventful life, he was never known to abandon a faithful friend. His gratitude for past services was ever a prominent trait in his character; his fidelity to those from whom he had ever received an act of kindness was proverbial.' p. 123.

Mr Clinton was twice married; first to Maria Franklin, daughter of Walter Franklin, a merchant of New York, and member of the society of Friends. Of the ten children of this lady, four out of seven sons, and two out of three daughters, have survived both parents, and are now living. His second marriage was in 1819, to Catharine Jones, daughter of Thomas Jones, a physician of New York. It appears that Mr Clinton left his family little other inheritance than the rich one of his fame, and the affectionate recollections of all who knew him.

This Memoir by Dr Hosack is written in a very candid, liberal spirit. Though he was the warm friend and great admirer of Mr Clinton, he does not indulge in resentment towards his competitors and enemies. The work does great credit to his industry and good judgment. We think that the public will join with the assembly before which the discourse was delivered, in thanking Dr Hosack for his performance. He has shown an indefatigable activity in collecting materials, by a wide range of inquiry and correspondence; and has thus drawn out many historical facts and documents to be transmitted to posterity, which but for his labors would probably not have been rescued from oblivion.

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ART. XII.—*Travels in North America in the Years* 1827 *and* 1828. By Captain BASIL HALL, Royal Navy. 2 vols. Philadelphia. Carey, Lea, & Carey.

CAPTAIN HALL is entitled to the thanks of those, with whom he became acquainted in the United States, for the abstinence from personality which marks his work. Almost every one of his countrymen, who had preceded him, had filled his Travels with personal anecdotes of the individuals whom he met. The names of the gentlemen who invited him to dinner, the domestic relations of the families to which he was introduced, the conversation of the social table and of the fireside were basely resorted to,—often with the most profligate admixture of pure fiction,—to give piquancy to the book. The inference naturally drawn, that these travellers were no gentlemen in the real sense of that term, and knew neither what belonged to politeness nor common decency, carried with it little consolation to the victims. At length America was honored by a tourist of a different class; no Manchester *traveller*, no Scotch gardener, no legacy-hunting Cockney, who, in the failure of honester resources, was fain to defray the expenses of his voyage by the sale of a volume of libellous trash, seasoned to the prevailing appetite for abuse of the United States. Far otherwise; we were visited by a noble, even a princely stranger; a member of one of the most enlightened reigning families in Europe, brought up in courts. In the record of his travels, we expected, at least, to be safe against this inglorious annoyance; but as the fatality of the case would have it, his Serene Highness turned over the entire contents of his portfolio, to an unlucky professor at Jena, who, under the influence of that principle of *loyalty*, which Captain Hall commends as the peculiar glory of the British character, deemed that nothing which his master had noted, sketched, or collected could be improved, either by retrenchment or selection, and wisely inflicted the whole farrago of the princely traveller, with all its personalities and private gossip, on the unoffending community of the *travellés*. We have some authority for saying, that nobody can regret this untoward occurrence, more than the Duke of Saxe-Weimar himself. Captain Hall, as the next prominent successor of the Duke, is doubly entitled to praise, for keeping his pages free from the names of individuals, and

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the detail of what he saw and heard, beneath the roofs of those, who sought or fell into his society. We are aware that in so doing, he has sacrificed something of the interest of his work; not merely, in this country, for which he intimates that he did not write; but even in his own country, where, though the individuals that would have been mentioned, might not have been known, there is a universal appetite for personality, to which anecdotes of the obscurest characters are more welcome, than general and abstract accounts of very important matters. It might be thought no great merit, that a respectable writer should abstain from personalities, painful to those who had treated him kindly; but it is a merit which Captain Hall has to share with very few of his colleagues.

Captain Hall has not only punctiliously abstained from offensive personalities, but he professes throughout, and, we doubt not, sincerely, a great degree of personal good will and kind feeling toward the Americans, with whom he became acquainted on his tour. Without flattering himself that his account will be very popular in America, he assures us, he shall deeply lament having written on the subject at all, if his pages shall be thought to contain a single expression, inconsistent with the gratitude, which, in common with his family, 'he must ever feel for the attention and hospitality he received from the Americans, or with the hearty good will we bear to every individual whom we met with in their widely extended country.' This is very handsomely said, and ought to satisfy us as to Captain Hall's intentions. But as some of his former works have passed through more than one edition, and such may be the case with his Travels in America, we think it a sort of duty, to advert to a train of remark, into which he has repeatedly fallen, and which well deserves his reconsideration, in a future impression of his book, as ungracious in itself, inconsistent with his avowed and, we doubt not, sincere wish to avoid giving personal offence, and in point of fact probably without foundation. We allude to the repeated complaints of the importunity of those, with whom the Captain became acquainted, in forcing him to see the various objects of interest and curiosity in the different places he visited.

'For my share,' says the Captain, on arriving at Baltimore, 'I was beyond measure relieved, by finding it was not the custom of the place, to cram down our throats their institutions, their town, their bay, their liberty, their intelligence, and so forth. On

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the contrary, all was rational and moderate praise, and fair play in these matters. It was also quite a comfort to learn, how little was to be seen, in the way of sights. Perhaps I ought to be ashamed to say so; but there is a limit to the exertions of travellers as well as of other people, and what I saw at the great cities of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia had so completely satiated me with institutions, jails, schools, and hospitals, that it was comfortable to find one's self in the midst of a pleasant circle of people, who left such things to make their own impression, and were not eternally reproaching their guests with wilful neglect of their city, when all the while their poor bodies and souls were worn out in trying to do it justice.'

The Russian navigator, Captain Golownin, in his interesting account of the people of Japan, among whom he travelled as a prisoner (the only way in which any foreigner can travel among them), says, that he observed, as he passed along, that the people of the villages through which he was carried, were busy in taking *their* notes of what they remarked in him and the attendant train. Had the good people of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, who had the happiness to make Captain Hall's acquaintance, kept their journal as he kept his, and given it to the world, it is possible that this process, on their part, which he rather pointedly calls 'cramming down his throat,' might have assumed a different aspect, or at least have borne a different name. Captain Hall, on arriving at Boston, found himself provided with twenty letters of introduction. He proposed, at first, to make a selection of those, which he thought most likely to prove useful. This he forbore, for want of the necessary knowledge of the parties, and writing his address on each letter, 'sent out the whole batch' (perhaps through the post-office), 'and sat still to watch the result.'

'The sun was scarcely set, before a considerable number of persons called, and the next day, we had a crowd of visitors, all not only willing to give us advice as to our proceedings, but to lend us their personal assistance in seeing the lions. Every one was naturally anxious, that we should see things in the most favorable light, and of course fancied that he could do the honors, most successfully in that respect. This was very agreeable; and the only difficulty, by no means a small one, was, to settle what we should see first and under whose patronage. One gentleman recommended to us to go at once to the "Factories" at Lowell, twenty-five miles off. Another exclaimed, "The thing best worth seeing is our Navy Yard at Charlestown." A third said, "O, no, our hospitals certainly are by far the most interesting objects of curiosity for a stranger."'

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In another chapter the Captain says,

'It was quite dark before we got back to Boston, where next day we recommenced our round of sight-seeing, which we performed with so much industry, that in the course of a week, hardly a single institution was left unvisited. Rope-works, printing-offices, houses of correction, prisons, hospitals, penitentiaries, schools, alms-houses, navy and building yards, passed in quick, but not in careless review before us. All that our friends desired us to see, we made a point of seeing. It mattered not what it was we wished to examine; scarcely was the wish expressed, when immediately some one left his business, at a minute's warning, to become our zealous and useful guide. All this busy intercourse brought us into very pleasing habits of acquaintance with the good citizens of Boston, with whose manners, appearance, and style altogether, we were much taken.' Vol. i. p. 291.

Here the Captain evidently comes to the true conclusions. The 'crowd of visiters' that overwhelmed him, was produced by his despatching his 'batch' of twenty letters at once. The different objects they recommended to his attention proved that he had luckily brought letters to persons of different pursuits or tastes. Their eagerness to show, each the object with which he happened to be acquainted, was probably prompted by the very terms of Captain Hall's letters, and was intended partly as a mark of respect to the distant friends, by whom those letters were written. The supposition that Captain Hall wished, on his own account, to see the institutions and establishments of the country, was a natural, though, judging from his remarks at Baltimore, an erroneous supposition, at least at that stage of his journey. The fact that his friends in Boston left their business (which the Bostonians are not fonder of doing, than their brethren beyond the Atlantic), at a minute's warning, to wait upon him, authorizes the inference, that they considered themselves, not as imposing a burden on their guest, but as furthering his views, at some sacrifice of their own convenience. In short, if all this, as the Captain assures us, while writing at Boston, was very pleasant and agreeable, the terms in which he reverts to it, at Baltimore, are as inappropriate, as they are severe. Captain Hall has been a great traveller, and possibly has been more abroad than at home. We are quite sure he would, with great zeal, discharge all the duties of a resident to any traveller thrown within his reach; but he may have to learn, from experience,

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that when, to do this, 'he leaves his business at a minute's warning,' it is not pleasant to find that he has been regarded, by those he meant to serve, as cramming objects of supposed curiosity down their throats;—and for so doing, be held up to the ridicule of the reading world in England and America.

We will dwell a moment on another topic pretty closely allied to this. Captain Hall remarks many times, that the Americans constantly themselves praised what they called him to examine. They perplexed him with apologies for what they felt was amiss, excuses for what was absent, exaggerated praises of what they thought commendable; and thus manœuvred and managed to make him compliment them. This was the case at Boston, Albany, West Point, and we believe everywhere but Baltimore. Some few intelligent persons only have credit for their abstinence from this kind of persecution. Now, with reference to statements like this in Captain Hall's book, we are somewhat embarrassed. We believe sincerely that he aims at accuracy throughout. We have no doubt he believes he saw and heard everything, which he says he saw and heard; and we are sure he has not intentionally misrepresented anything. But the thing itself, now alleged, is one which has never fallen under our observation; though we have had some opportunities of witnessing how travellers are habitually received in this neighborhood, and some experience of the way, in which they are treated in other parts of the country. We never saw nor heard, in any portion of the country, anything of this preposterous exaction of praise. The thing itself is grossly indelicate; it is at war with the very instinct of politeness; a slight disparagement of the entertainment you offer a stranger being universal in all countries and all communities, of which we have any knowledge; and we are only left to suppose that Captain Hall felt some unfriendly process passing in his own mind, and ascribed to the Americans the corresponding sentiment. Conscious that he was dissatisfied, he fancied that they penetrated his feeling, and challenged his praise. Take, for instance, West Point. Captain Hall says,

'The commandant was kind enough to take me over the whole establishment, including several of the class-rooms, where the cadets were hard at work, in a very business-like manner. My opinion was asked about several points, and of course freely given. I felt scrupulous as to intruding it upon subjects, to which my attention was not expressly called, especially as it happened that I was merely asked what things I approved of, never the contrary.' Vol. i. p. 51.

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Now the commandant, if Captain Hall means the superintendent of the post at West Point, is well known in the United States, as a gentleman, quite as incapable of the want of taste and good manners ascribed to him, as Captain Hall is of making an intentional misstatement. The only rational solution of the difficulty is, that the Captain felt himself in the condition of a dissatisfied tourist, and imagined that all who met him read his feelings, and were determined to extort from him all the praise they could.

The truth is, Captain Hall evidently mistook his own feelings, and came to this country with principles and opinions utterly incapacitating him from receiving favorable impressions of it. As he is at considerable pains to explain his previous feelings, and as the confidence, to which his opinions are entitled, really depends not a little on the prepossessions under which they were formed, it is a matter of some importance, in the criticism of his work, to settle this point. He tells us, that his first acquaintance with America commenced in 1804 and 1805, as a midshipman on board the Leander flag-ship, on the Halifax station. If he remained two or three years in that vessel, or on that station, he was on our coasts during a period of greater and more universal irritation, than ever existed between the two countries in time of peace; and he confesses, that he himself 'was not very well disposed toward the Americans.' The Captain thinks he got over these feelings, and acquired friendly ones in their place. He alleges, however, no occasion for the change, but his having been thrown far from this country in the course of service, having had his knowledge of mankind extended, and having heard Americans praise their own country in the most animating and unqualified manner. Whether these circumstances were likely to work a change in a person of Captain Hall's opinions, all of which are at variance with notions universally received in this country,—who believes that an established church is the sheet-anchor of the state; that loyalty *to the person* of the king, distinct from attachment to the institutions and soil of the country, is the glory of an Englishman; and who made his first acquaintance with America as an officer on board the admiral's ship, on the Halifax station, twenty-three years ago,—we leave to judges of human nature to say.

Captain Hall admits, that the favorable predispositions, with which he landed in America, were changed to feelings some-

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what different. It might be inferred, when he speaks of 'the gradual destruction of his best hopes on the subject,' that this change was slow, and the result of his general survey of the whole country and deliberate study of its institutions. We find, however, on the ninth of August, 1827, that the Captain's mind was already made up. On that day, he was invited to a public dinner, at Brockville, in Upper Canada; and in a speech to the company, he indirectly compares the revolution of the United States to a mutiny of the British navy, more injurious to the mutineers than to the government; he rather sneeringly mentions our government, in connexion with that of Chile (which he calls a queer-looking political infant), as 'another description of infant, of age the day it was born;' and he leaves the Canadians to judge, 'whether it has grown older or younger, stronger or weaker, by time.' He tells them, 'they are not so *unfortunate* as to be independent of England, in the ordinary acceptation of the term, nor is she of them, but that they are much better off than if they were.' Captain Hall, at this time, had passed just *forty-five days* in the United States. He had seen little or nothing, in our country, but the city of New York, the penitentiaries of that state, which he commends as models; West Point, which he thinks well conducted; the Highlands, Stockbridge, the Erie canal, and the western part of the prosperous state of New York. He had not yet seen our verbose, nought-doing legislatures, our ignorant, changeable courts of justice, our stormy elections, our slavery, our backwoods, our southern regions of *malaria*. And yet he had come to the grand and decisive conclusions just mentioned. If Captain Hall's account of the progress and change of his opinions be correct, it must be allowed that he came to very decisive results, in a very short time, and on very partial observations. But the whole history which he gives us of his feelings shows, that he mistook that personal complacency and kindliness, which are acquired in the process of obtaining, and from the fact of possessing, a hundred or two of letters of introduction to a country you intend to explore, for a real prepossession in favor of the country itself. We cannot,—giving Captain Hall credit for any impartiality and talent of philosophical observation,—suppose, that the forty-five days, after his first landing, in which he really fell in with nothing very inauspicious, produced the great conclusions which he announced at Brockville. It is

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impossible, that the Captain should have approached us in a frame of mind enabling him to see the country in a favorable light. We have no doubt he intended to do us justice; it may be that he does it. Rhadamanthus was not an unjust judge, though he scourged first and then listened. Captain Hall had certainly inflicted on us the sentence of his disapprobation, before he had seen much of the country, or any of the things he most disrelishes.

We shall farther illustrate this, by an instance of unfavorable judgment of America, occurring very early in his travels, and in which, we are constrained to say, the Captain deals us out very hard measure. On his ascent up the North River, he makes these remarks;

'All the world over, I suspect the great mass of people care mighty little about scenery, and visit such places merely for the sake of saying they have been there. I own, however, that I was at first rather taken in with respect to this matter in America; and really fancied, from the flaming descriptions we had given us of the wonders and beauties of the country, that the persons describing it were more than usually sensible to its charms. But we now began to suspect, most grievously, that our friends, of whom we were striving with all our might to think well in every point, were, like most folks elsewhere, nearly as insensible to the beauties of nature, as we had reason to fear, from their public exhibitions, they were to the graces of art.

'On board the steam-boats on the superb Hudson, and in the canal-boat on the pretty Mohawk, the scenery was either unheeded, or when noticed at all, was looked at by our companions with indifference. There was, I grant, now and then, a great deal of talk about such things; and we had seen in their road-books and other writings much about the extraordinary wonders, and the natural beauties of their country; but as yet, generally speaking, we had met a perfect insensibility to either, on the part of the inhabitants. Neither is this to be explained by supposing them to have become too well acquainted with the objects in question; for I think it happens generally, that when there is a real, and not an imaginary, perception of the beauties of nature, the pleasure arising from their contemplation goes on increasing; and habit, so far from rendering such scenes too familiar to be interesting, only contributes to unfold new points for admiration. Since, however, it is impossible to maintain artificial rapture for more than a few minutes, it is easier to say nothing at all; and thus we have an explanation of the anomaly alluded to.' Vol. I. pp. 68, 69.

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Here we are accused of indifference to the beauties of natural scenery, and to the graces of art; of making flaming descriptions of what we do not feel; of perfect insensibility to the extraordinary wonders and natural beauties of the country. This is a little softened at first, it is true, by saying that a like indifference to scenery exists among the people everywhere. But if the Captain is in earnest in this admission, we do not see why anything need have been said on the subject. The European road-books are as full of this kind of description as ours; and if the Captain thinks, that both in America and in Europe it is all sham, there is no need of dwelling upon it at all. But there is a pointedness in the reproach, as applied to America, which cannot be mistaken. The Captain will not, at first, allow that this seeming indifference is the effect of habit. 'If the perception,' says he, 'is real, not imaginary, the pleasure increases by indulgence.' This is on the eighteenth of June, when the Captain had in hand to show the apathy of the Americans. On the sixteenth of July, when it was his object to apologize for himself, he tells us, that 'he knows few things more fatiguing than fine scenery; and I suspect, most people, after passing three or four weeks in Switzerland, if they dared own it, would say, they were right glad to escape into Italy, or even into France. At all events, we had not much fatigue of this kind to complain of, for take it all in all, a more unpicturesque country is hardly to be found anywhere.'

Take it all in all! The Captain, as appears by the line on his map, as well as from his book, saw but an exceedingly small part of America; about as much as a man would see of England, who should drive in the mail-coach from Liverpool to London, and thence to Edinburgh, by the way of Carlisle. With the exception of what he saw in New York, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania, he actually saw no portion of those regions, which could, in the common course of physical geography, present fine scenery. He visited neither the highlands of New Hampshire, Vermont, Virginia, nor any of the Western states. With the exceptions mentioned, he adhered to the alluvial belt along the sea-coast, and to the great rivers. This surely is not taking the country all in all. But we did not mean to dwell on that point, not caring whether the country be picturesque or unpicturesque, and unwilling to assimilate, for a moment, the travels of Captain Hall and Dr Syntax.

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We wished only to point out, how the Captain gives himself the benefit of a principle, of which he denies the benefit to us. But at length he gets back from his Canadian excursion, and reaches Lake George. His remarks, on this occasion, on the subject of scenery, taken in connexion with those already quoted, are certainly conceived in a resolution to find nothing right.

'On the eighth of September we made a delightful voyage along Lake George, freely acknowledging [why freely acknowledging?] that we had come at last to some beautiful scenery in the United States, beautiful in every respect, and leaving nothing to wish for. I own that Lake George exceeded my expectations, as far as it exceeds the power of the Americans to overpraise it, which is no small compliment.' [A greater one to the lake than to the Americans. But this, though rather ungracious, and in its place gratuitous, for it seems the Americans are right for once, might pass. What follows is the ingenuity of fault-finding.] 'I began now to suspect, however, that they really preferred many things, which have no right to be mentioned in the same day with this finished piece of lake scenery. At all events, I often heard Lake George spoken of, by them, without that degree of animation, of which they were so lavish on some other, and as I thought, very indifferent topics of admiration.

'It is difficult, I must confess, to discover precisely what people feel with respect to scenery, and I may be wrong in supposing so many of my Transatlantic friends insensible to its influence. But certainly during our stay in the country, while we heard many spots lauded to the utmost length that words could go, we had often occasion to fancy there was no genuine sentiment at the bottom of all this praise. At the time I speak of, this was a great puzzle to me; and I could not understand the apparent indifference shown to the scenery of this beautiful lake, by most of our companions. Subsequent experience, however, led me to see, that where the fine arts are not steadily cultivated, where in fact there is little taste for that description of excellence, and not very much is known about it, there cannot possibly be much hearty admiration of the beauties of nature.' Vol. I. p. 220.

Here the Captain inadvertently gives a reason for the wrong fault. What he was here to account for was the alleged indifference to Lake George, compared with other scenery; and we fancy it would indeed puzzle the Captain to give a plausible account of this imaginary perversity of taste. Forgetting that this was the problem he had put and undertaken to solve, the Captain reverts to his old point, that his 'trans-

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atlantic friends' are insensible to all scenery. When they affect to admire it, they are insincere; what they do praise is of an inferior kind; and to that which is perfect they are insensible! This tenacious pursuit of a matter so small, with the seemingly fixed purpose to find nothing right about it, appears to us to comport better with the character of the Fearons and the Fauxes, than with that of so distinguished and liberal a traveller as Captain Hall.

His remarks about the weather are equally ungracious and querimonious. Captain Hall went to Cambridge, and

'On returning to town, half drowned in the deluges of rain, which had been falling all the morning, we were much amused with the apologies made to us by every one we met, for the state of the weather,—as if they could help its raining and blowing!' 'Almost every person was in the fidgets about the bad weather; not at all on account of its inconvenience either to themselves or to us,—that seemed quite a subordinate consideration,—but purely as it acted against their nationality, by making us suspect their climate was not much better than that of England.

'In general, the month of October is very fine in that part of the country—at least so we were told a hundred times—and we should have believed the fact implicitly upon one tithe of these assurances, had not doubts been raised in our minds by this incessant show of irritation at the poor elements, for daring to belie the fine speeches made in their favor. We really did not care two straws about the matter, and, if nothing had been said, would not have minded what could not be helped; for we were far too much interested by the novelty of all we saw, and far too grateful for the hospitality which met us at every turn, to think of drawing those offensive comparisons between the two climates, with which the good people of Boston fancied our heads were full, when, in truth, it was only our wet feet that gave us any concern.' Vol. I. pp. 284, 285.

Had this come from any body, but a gentleman of exemplary politeness and good manners, we should have thought it quite small and positively unamiable. What more natural, when you have taken a lady and gentleman on an excursion of pleasure, in which you have been overtaken by a drenching shower, than to express your regret? What more forced, than for the lady and gentleman to call such expressions of regret 'apologizing for the weather?' What more gratuitous, than to say, the bad weather was regretted, not on account of the exposure of the health of your friends—one of whom is a lady,—but because it weakens your argument in a national controversy?

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What more natural, than that every different individual that Captain Hall met (not knowing what others had said) should, in the month of October, speak of the proverbially genial weather, which prevails in New England in that month? What more a matter of course, than to observe,—if such were the fact,—that the abundant rains of that particular October were unseasonable? What more harsh than to call this, 'irritation at the elements for belying the fine speeches made in their favor'?

We must take leave to add, that the indifference, which Captain Hall here expresses to the state of the weather, is what, upon reflection, he can hardly feel, or if he does, it is a factitious feeling. The state of the weather nearly imports the health, the spirits, and the convenience of almost every man. In all countries it is a prominent, as it is a natural topic of conversation. It is a vastly more dignified and curious one, than most of the topics, to which people, who have been told at boarding-school that it is vulgar to talk about the weather, make an affected resort, as a substitute. And in point of fact, Captain Hall, in the whole course of his book, habitually and on every occasion adverts to the weather, in his narrative. We think it highly probable that he travelled with a thermometer, hygrometer, and barometer; that he kept a regular meteorological journal; and that it was very difficult for a cloud to sail up from the horizon, without his noting whether it was *cirro-stratus* or *cumulo-stratus*. If Captain Hall did not do all this, Alexander Humboldt did.

The persons of whom Captain Hall speaks so plainly, it will be remembered, are designated by him as his friends; they were endeavoring to exercise toward him the duties of hospitality, and more especially to promote his objects as a traveller; and for these their intentions, the Captain professes, and we have no doubt feels, a sentiment of gratitude. While ridiculing the bad taste and excess of their attentions, Captain Hall has this advantage, that he delicately suppresses names, and makes an earnest profession of kindness to individuals; and thus, without necessarily giving personal offence, is able, not merely to make harsh allusions, which must bring themselves pretty near home to somebody; but to adopt a general tone toward the country, in a high degree unfriendly. We would imitate, as far as possible, this discreet and delicate course pursued by Captain Hall. We wish to speak with plainness and disappro-

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bation of his work, as respects matter, manner, and spirit; but in doing so, we wish to separate the book from the writer, or rather the writer from the man. We are as sincere as Captain Hall can be, in disclaiming a wish or willingness to offend, and have no other object than to speak fairly and truly of his publication, regarding it as one calculated to affect the public mind, in England, on the subject of America. We shall accordingly, without further preliminary reflections, proceed to make a few observations on several portions of these volumes, without any other arrangement, than the succession of topics presented in the volumes themselves.

Captain Hall landed at New York on the fifteenth of May, and with the exception of an excursion to Stockbridge, proceeded, by the usual route, through New York to the falls of Niagara. One of the first things, which arrested his attention, was the excellent breakfast served up at the hotel, where he took lodgings. This is described in two or three pages, in terms like these;

'But I am quite forgetting the glorious breakfast! We had asked merely for some fresh shad, a fish reported to be excellent, as indeed it proved. But a great, steaming, juicy beafsteak also made its appearance, flanked by a dish of mutton cutlets. The shad is a native of the American waters, I believe exclusively, and if so, it is almost worthy of a [worth a?] voyage across the Atlantic, to make its acquaintance. To these viands were added a splendid arrangement of snow white rolls, regiments of hot toast, with oceans of tea and coffee.' Vol. I. p. 8.

There is a good deal of such information and such writing in Captain Hall's work, which we cannot think to be in very good taste; although, as good writing is one of the fine arts—and the finest of them,—and as Captain Hall assures his reader there is little taste for the fine arts in this country, and not very much known about them, we may be wholly wrong. It is, indeed, with considerable diffidence, that we express the opinion, that the style of Captain Hall errs in the extreme of plainness. It is frequently slovenly, and still more frequently incorrect. His pages contain a good deal of bad grammar, and several words, which are neither English nor American. With respect to the matter of the quotation we have just given, who that finds Captain Hall, at the close of his work, despatching in a single chapter, and that a short one, the whole tour from Louisville, by the way of the rivers, to St Louis, back

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through Illinois and Indiana to Louisville, up the river to Ohio and Pittsburg, and across the mountains to Philadelphia, but must regret, that the numerous and detailed descriptions of breakfasts and dinners, and the like small matters, could not have been retrenched to make room for his observations on the Western country?

Captain Hall went down to breakfast at the *table d'hôte*, in order to get acquainted with some of the *natives*, as he calls them, and this he thought 'would be the easiest thing in the world.' But 'our familiar designs were all frustrated, by the imperturbable silence and gravity of the company. At dinner, which was at three o'clock, we were again baffled by the same cold and civil but very unsociable formality.' Why this should surprise Captain Hall, just arriving from England, we cannot imagine. The defect in our American manners alluded to is unquestionable. No one who has travelled in France, or associated with Frenchmen, can fail to perceive what an advantage, both for immediate ease and permanent cheerfulness, is possessed by that amiable people, in the facility of their intercourse. But Captain Hall never met any other manners, than those he censures at New York, in any part of his own country; and if he himself was prepared to adopt in a different mode of approaching strangers, it was because his habits as a traveller had overcome his temper as an Englishman. Captain Hall not unfrequently alludes to the feelings we ought to cherish towards England, as the mother country. On this point at least, if on no other, we may well say to him,

> 'Have you not love enough to bear with us,
> When that *cold* humor, which our mother gave us,
> Makes us forgetful?'

While at New York, Captain Hall visited the high-school for girls, and while there, on being appealed to, on the subject of reading, entered into an argument with the schoolmistress, on the pronunciation of the words *combat* and *chivalry*. The little girls, it seems, had pronounced the *o*, in the first word, like *o* in *commerce;* and the *ch* in *chivalry* like *sh*. Captain Hall very properly and correctly informed her, that in England, the *o*, in the word in question, was pronounced like short *u—cumbat*, and the *ch* as in *chin;* and that such was the pronunciation of Walker's Dictionary. In a subsequent part of his work, Captain Hall relates the substance of a conversation which he held with Mr Noah Webster, in which that gentle-

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man stated that, in reference to words pronounced differently in the two countries,

He '"would adopt that pronunciation, which was most consonant to the principles of the English language." "For example, you in England universally say *ch*ivalry, we as generally say *sh*ivalry; but I should certainly give it according to the first way, as more consistent with the principles of the language. On the other hand, your way [the English] of pronouncing the word *deaf* is *def;* ours, as if it were written *deef;* and as this is the correct mode, from which you have departed, I shall adhere to the American way."'

In cases, where more than one mode of pronouncing a word has considerable currency, it may be difficult to say, which is the most approved either in England or America. We remember to have asked one of the most fastidious speakers in the British Parliament, a member of the House of Lords, whether he would pronounce the vowel in the first syllable of *rather*, like *a* in *father*, in *hat*, or in *hate;* and he declared himself unable to decide among the three sounds, which was of best authority. Still, however, we hold that pronunciation is a matter of authority and usage; and we think the cases must be very rare, and present a very well admitted ambiguity, to authorize us, as Mr Webster proposes, to resort to principles of the English language, in defiance of the received English pronunciation. We also deny wholly the propriety of making a distinction between the American usage and the English usage, *as such*, and the setting up of a standard for each. The two examples which Mr Webster has chosen, as reported by Captain Hall, show the difficulty and the impropriety of such an attempt. Mr Webster, it seems, thinks that in America *deaf* is pronounced *deef*, and *chivalry* is pronounced *shivalry*. We differ as to the fact, in both cases, or rather our experience is different from Mr Webster's experience. If our ears do not mislead us, both these words are generally pronounced by good speakers in America, as they are in England.

Being on the subject of language, we will dwell a moment on the topic of Americanisms. Every one recollects the din kept up by the English tourists and critics, on this subject, for several years, and not yet wholly appeased. Accordingly Captain Hall was surprised, when Mr Webster assured him, that there were not fifty words in all, which are used in America and not in England, and he (Captain Hall) was unable to collect nearly that number. What a comment on the pages of

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sarcasm, grave and gay, with which the British press has teemed on this subject, from the Edinburgh and Quarterly down. Captain Hall was still more surprised and incredulous, when told that even these fifty words were originally most orthodox English words, brought over to America by the early settlers, and preserved in use here, while they have become obsolete on the other side of the water. Subsequent inquiry, however, Captain Hall informs us, as far as he has pushed it, has also confirmed this statement.

It is inconceivable to us how, in the work containing representations like these, Captain Hall could have admitted a train of remarks, like that which fills the latter portion of the sixteenth chapter. The main proposition there supported by him is, that the misconstructions and misunderstandings of English travellers in America arise 'from an imperfect acquaintance with the very language (the English) supposed to be common to both' nations. The Captain remarks, that

'In America it so happens,—I don't at present inquire wherefore,—that the English language is somewhat modified. I speak not alone of the meaning of individual words, in many of which also the change is abundantly perceptible, but chiefly of the general acceptation of language, as connected with a set of feelings, and a state of circumstances, materially different from those which exist in England.' Vol. i. p. 241.

At the risk of being quoted as an illustration of the truth and justice of Captain Hall's statement, we must candidly allow, that in this remark and in what follows, to the end of the chapter, our limited knowledge of the English language, and of the state of things in England and America, does not enable us to comprehend the Captain's drift. He does not favor us with any *fact* or *instance*, but confines himself to such assertions as these; 'Both parties will often be wider of the intended mark, than if their respective languages,—as happens between our neighbors the French and us,—were entirely different, not merely in their local usage or occasional idiom, but in their whole structure.' 'I will say this, that in all my travels, both amongst heathens and amongst Christians, I have never encountered any people by whom I found it nearly so difficult to make myself understood as by the Americans.' When it is recollected, that Captain Hall has been a traveller among several eastern nations, of whose dialects he must have been utterly ignorant, and by whom of course he could not have

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been understood at all, it will be admitted, that there is an extravagance, nay a wildness, in assertions like these, which seriously impairs his pretensions to the character of a philosophical observer or a calm describer.

Having made these strange, unaccountable statements, Captain Hall follows them up with another, if possible still more fantastic, and which he utters himself with some misgiving, 'as looking a little paradoxical at first.' 'So much for language,' says he; 'but I may take this occasion, though rather premature, to add, that I consider America and England, as differing more from one another in many essential respects, than any two European nations I have ever visited.' We do not know what may be 'essential respects,' in the comparison of nations, in Captain Hall's system. As commonly considered, descent, language, law, and the form of government, would be entitled to be so called. Nine tenths of our people are of English descent, and that traced back barely two centuries. We speak a language, in which Captain Hall could not collect fifty words peculiar to ourselves; and that is more than can be said of the current language of any two counties of old England. Our law is English law, with as few alterations, perhaps, as have taken place in the English law at home, in any period of two centuries since the time of William the Conqueror. Our government, though certainly very different from the English, resembles it in that which alone has given strength and credit to the English government, we mean a system of representation, and this also, English writers often boast, we have borrowed from them. We should be glad to know what two European nations are more like each other, in these or any other respects, than England and America. Paradoxes like these pass the limits of piquant exaggeration, and create just doubts of the general soundness of a writer's discretion.

Before we quite leave the topic of language, we must point out another of these strange overstatements. We shall presently have to speak of the resolute partiality, with which Captain Hall views every thing within the British North American dominions, contrasted with his coldness towards the United States. In nothing is this contrast more distinct, perhaps, than in the following observation.

'I may here take occasion to remark, when treating of these customs and other refinements, that *in every part of Canada* we found the inhabitants *speaking English*, and acting and looking

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like Englishmen, without any discernible difference. The dress of the people, also, was not such as to excite notice, by its difference from that worn in London; and, generally speaking, there was nothing sufficiently prominent, either in their manners or appearance, to distinguish them from persons similarly circumstanced in the mother country. In the United States, on the contrary, as I have before hinted, the language, the thoughts, and even the tone of the voice, as well as the general appearance, are too obviously foreign and peculiar to the country to escape notice. I do not pretend to say which of the two is best; that is a matter of mere taste, about which it were idle to dispute. I merely state the fact, as it certainly affords the grounds of some very remarkable distinctions between those adjacent countries, generally, but erroneously, thought to bear a considerable resemblance..' Vol. I. p. 140.

These remarks (singularly enough) are made *apropos* of a verandah to the house, where he was entertained in a sequestered region of Upper Canada; an appendage to a mansion, which Captain Hall justly likens to what he saw in Hindostan; and which escaped our notice, if it be peculiarly characteristic of the domestic architecture of England. But we let that go, as also the article of dress, in which, it seems, the inhabitants of the regions between Burlington Bay and Lake Simcoe strangely resemble the denizens of Bond Street. We must, however, express our private opinion, that there has not been a coat worn within those latitudes for six years, which was not made by a journeyman tailor, who, after having cut and cabbaged himself out of credit in New York, Utica, and Rochester, had run off, with his newest fashions, to York or Holland's Landing. But we will confine ourselves to the matter of language alone. Captain Hall, it seems, 'found the inhabitants *in every part of Canada*, speaking English and acting and looking like Englishmen, without any discernible difference.' He informs us, in another chapter, that he made a visit to the 'French peasantry, *who form the mass of the population* in Lower Canada.' We suppose some little qualification ought to be made of the pure English spoken in every part of Canada, in consideration of the fact, that the mass of the population, in Lower Canada, do not speak it at all. But limiting Captain Hall's remark to that portion of the country, which he is describing when he makes it, (although he extends it, in terms, to every part of Canada,) how does the case stand? A part of the population of it is no doubt of English origin,

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which has been established perhaps two generations, on the spot where Captain Hall found them. This must, from the nature of the case, be a small part of the population. It is *possible*, that this portion of the population has undergone no change in dress, manners, and external appearance, since it emigrated from England; or rather (for this supposition will not meet Captain Hall's statement of facts) that precisely those changes, which since 1763 have been taking place in these matters in England, have been, simultaneously, and by a mysterious sympathy in manners, tones, and coat-flaps, taking place in Upper Canada, so that what the Captain asserts of the inhabitants of every part of Canada, may be true of this small part of it. We say, though this is highly astonishing, we believe it on his authority. The residue of the population consists of descendents of the ancient French colonists, of emigrants from the United States, and of Irish and Scotch emigrants; and we must be permitted to doubt the fact, that there is that striking similarity between these portions of the Canadian population and the English, in points where the English and the Americans of the United States differ. That a colony of emigrants, drafted from the North of Ireland, or even from Glengary, should speak the language, without a discernible difference from the English, is much such a statement, as that made by Captain Hall in a former work, and candidly corrected in this, that several eastern nations employ the Chinese character, and understand it when written, without comprehending it as a spoken language.

But it is time to return to New York. Captain Hall attended a court of justice there, and remarks, 'among other things, it was curious to hear one of the lawyers quote an English decision.' Why this should be curious, in the apprehension of a gentleman acquainted with the sources of our law, we cannot imagine. If Captain Hall visited the courts of New Orleans, he probably heard the lawyers cite recent French decisions.

'The chief justice,' continues the Captain, 'and the two judges were on the bench; but I must say, that the absence of the wigs and gowns took away much more from their dignity, than I had previously supposed possible. Perhaps I was the more struck with this omission, as it was the first thing I saw, which made me distrust the wisdom with which the Americans had stripped away so much of what had been held *sacred* so long. Apparent

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trifles such as these ought never, I think, to be measured by their individual importance; but, in fairness to the subject, should be taken in connexion with myriads of associations, all combining to steady our habits, to let us know distinctly what we are about, and thus to give us confidence in one another, which, after all, is the real source of power and happiness in a state.' Vol. i. p. 22.

Captain Hall would, we think, do well to recollect, that the preposterous and uncomfortable thing, called a wig, is of comparatively modern origin; and that it is worth the experiment, whether justice cannot be administered, unless the judge's head be wrapped up in an ill-looking mass of false hair, stitched to a bit of buckram, and clotted with pomatum and flour. Addison, having pictured to himself the manly appearance of Cicero and Demosthenes, could not help exclaiming, 'How cold and dead a figure, in comparison of these two great men, does an orator often make at the British bar, holding up his head with the most insipid serenity, and stroking the sides of a long wig, that reaches down to his middle!' In fact, if Captain Hall is warranted by the public sentiment of any respectable portion of the English community, in reckoning the judge's wig among those 'things *sacred*,' which 'steady our habits,' 'let us know what we are about,' and 'give us confidence in one another,' we shall begin to agree with him, that the English language is not understood in America. This new classification of things *sacred* reminds us again of Captain Golownin's Travels, where we are told, that the innocent Japanese thought the Russians had changed their religion, because the members of his party wore wigs, differing from those worn by the last Russians they had seen.

On his way up the North River, Captain Hall gives a very interesting account of the penitentiary at Sing Sing, and bestows merited commendation on its superintendent, Captain Lynds. Captain Hall makes a suggestion, in reference to prison discipline, which strikes us as exceedingly wise, and worthy of a full and fair trial.

'Why, if disobedience be punished, should not obedience be rewarded? And how easy it would be, to give the convicts a direct and immediate interest in conforming to the rules of the place. Suppose a prisoner were sentenced to several years' confinement; then, if he behave well for a week together, let one day be struck off his term of confinement; if he continue to deport himself correctly for a month, let the term of his detention be

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shortened a fortnight; and if he shall go on steadily for six months, then let half a year be struck off his whole period; and so on, according to any rates that may be found suitable.' Vol. I. p. 43.

This suggestion appears to us as hopeful, as it is simple. We trust it will receive due consideration, from those intrusted with the care of our penitentiaries.

The third chapter of Captain Hall's book is chiefly devoted to the United States' Military Academy at West Point. Our traveller sets forth with rather more circumstance than we think they merited, his proceedings and difficulties in procuring dinner. If it were necessary to go so much into detail on these matters, it would have been proper to state (if, as we believe, such be the fact), that no regular tavern is permitted, by the discipline of the institution, to be kept at West Point; and that, accordingly, strangers who arrive at other than the usual hours, must suffer a little, in the promptness of necessary attendance. Had Captain Hall, instead of making *personal* application to the servants in the steward's kitchen, where very likely it was contrary to rule to issue rations to a stranger, made himself first known to some of the gentlemen of the post, we warrant he would have been promptly supplied, not only with a cup of milk for his infant child, but with everything for himself, which comfort could require or hospitality furnish. These things, we are aware, are rather small; but nothing, which is important enough to be stated, is too unimportant to merit to be correctly stated.

Captain Hall labors under misapprehension, as to the main object of the important institution now in question. He observes,

'The object in view, I am told, is *not so much* to breed up young men for actual military service, as to disseminate, by their means, throughout the different parts of the country, a sound knowledge of the accurate [?] sciences, as well as a taste for literary and scientific pursuits; and also to spread more widely correct ideas of military discipline and military knowledge.' Vol. I. p. 47.

As far as we understand Captain Hall,—for this statement is neither very distinct nor wholly consistent with itself,—he misapprehended the information given him of the object, for which the Military Academy was founded and is kept up. We do not deny, that it was a part of this object, 'to spread more

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widely correct ideas of military discipline and military knowledge;' but this is not inconsistent with the plan of 'training up young men for actual military service.' It was for this last object primarily, we ought to say rather exclusively, that the Academy was founded,—that the American service might, in time of war, be well supplied with accomplished officers. It is a matter of course, that a somewhat greater number of cadets should be educated, than can find a place in the ranks of the army. The general tendency and design of the system are still to give an education to as many as will be required in the army, and to no more. But the precise number cannot ever be foreseen; or if it could, casualties will take place, frustrating the wisest calculations, and requiring an extraordinary supply. It is also necessary, that the cadet should be allowed the liberty of retiring from the service, if, after a reasonable trial (which the law has fixed at one year, in addition to the four passed in the Academy), he finds himself, on the ground of health, disposition, or other cause, not well qualified for the soldier's life. In these various ways, more young men certainly are educated from year to year, than find from year to year a regular promotion in the army; and it may, for aught we know to the contrary, have been incidentally said, with reference to such, that the Military Academy discharged a valuable purpose, in furnishing them an education, which would enable them, even in civil life, to be useful to the public. Such, however, is a contingent result, and not the object of the institution; which is to train up officers for the service of the United States. The other object, attributed to the institution, that of disseminating a taste for literary as well as scientific pursuits, is so wholly foreign from its nature, that it is a general opinion, that literature is not sufficiently cultivated at the Academy, even in reference to the direct military education of officers of the army.

Captain Hall at first thought, that the Academy was well calculated to effect the objects, which he ascribes to it; but says, that after viewing the country from end to end, the confidence formerly entertained by him of its utility was much weakened.

'My early impressions,' he adds, 'certainly were, that the West Point Academy would do much good, by spreading knowledge and *taste* of a higher order than, *I was assured*, was anywhere else to be found in the country. I then sincerely rejoiced at its

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success, so far, and do so still, though with slender hopes of its doing the country any essential service.' Vol. i. p. 48.

As the Captain admits that the institution appeared to be very well conducted, we do not see why he should have slender hopes of its being of service; nor does he tell us why he changed his opinion. The truth, however, is, that whoever undertook to inform him, that it was among the objects of the Military Academy to disseminate a taste for literary pursuits, and to spread *taste* of a higher order than was elsewhere to be found, gave the Captain information, which even a hasty glance over the list of studies must have shown to be erroneous. Captain Hall visited places of general education among us, where the ancient and modern languages, the arts of writing and speaking well, and belles-lettres in general are assiduously cultivated. These branches are almost wholly excluded from the course at West Point. Still, the course of instruction is very thorough in those parts of the exact and natural sciences, which belong to the education of the officer and the engineer; and united with these are the French language, something of history, geography, and the moral sciences, and the practical education of the soldier. Thirty or forty young men, the *élite* of more than twice that number, are annually turned out of the Academy, after four years passed in these studies; and Captain Hall, without assigning any reason, says he has 'slender hopes, that the institution is doing the country any essential service.' We cannot comprehend the philosophy of this judgment.

The Captain finds fault with the practice of keeping a register of merit, and recommends, as the greatest secret of discipline, military and domestic, 'to punish—if at all—adequately and at once.' This registry of delinquencies, he observes, was new to him, and he thinks it must 'cramp a generous mind.' But this is a matter, which depends on habit and the light in which things are regarded by the community. In the great public schools of England, young men of sixteen or seventeen, after a preliminary preparation that would be thought not over decent in this country, are, we are told, scourged on their bare flesh. It must be admitted that if this be the true mode of punishing ingenuous youth, the registry of delinquencies ought to be abandoned.

We have already ventured to state, that there positively must have been some misconception on our traveller's mind,

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in thinking he was asked to praise what he saw at the Academy. He observes that 'the cadets were remarkably deficient in that erect carriage and decided, firm gait, which gives what in the old world is called a military air, and is looked upon as a primary requisite in a soldier. Instead of the chest being braced or held forward, it is drawn back into a concavity, while the shoulders necessarily assume a correspondent roundness.' We begin to suspect not only that the language of America is, as the Captain assures us, harder to understand than that of the Loo-Choo islands or Corea, but that we see with different optics. We have passed nearly as many days at West Point, as the Captain did hours (for the minute and extensive observation, which he made of the establishment, was accomplished after the hour of three o'clock, P. M. of one day), and we never suspected that the cadets were 'remarkably' round-shouldered or hollow-breasted. Captain Hall seems to have been struck with the inherent improbability of the statement, that the pupils of a very well conducted military school should be remarkably deficient in an erect carriage and military air,—should draw the chest in and the shoulders up; and he seeks to render the matter more likely, by adding the following apologetic remarks; 'To foreign eyes, nothing can be more awkward than this mode of carrying the body. In justification, however, of the practice at West Point, it is fair to state, that it prevails more or less over the whole country; and being nearly as characteristic, as the tone of voice, would almost as inevitably betray an American in other parts of the world!' Those, who trust the accuracy of the Captain's eye in the matter of the cadets, will find no difficulty in doing it in reference to our whole population. We have no doubt it is as true of the latter as the former.

Captain Hall made an excursion from Albany to Stockbridge. At this early stage of his journey, he found from his notes, that

'The most striking circumstance in the American character, which had come under our notice, was the constant habit of praising themselves, their institutions, and their country, either in downright terms, or by some would-be indirect allusions, which were still more tormenting. I make use of this sharp-edged word, because it really was exceedingly teasing, when we were quite willing and ready to praise all that was good, and also to see everything, whether good or bad, in the fairest light, to be called

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upon so frequently to admit the justice of such exaggerations. It is considered, I believe, all over the world, as bad manners for a man to praise himself and family. Now, to praise one's country, appears, to say the least of it, in the next degree of bad taste.' Vol. I. p. 61.

A very grave Roman historian was of a different opinion, and observed, 'Pulchrum est benefacere reipublicæ; etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est.' The reasons, why good manners do not permit a man to praise himself or family, apply but very partially to praising one's country. We are willing, however, for argument's sake, to admit Captain Hall's principle, that it is, to say the least, nearly in as bad taste to praise one's country as it is to praise one's wife and children, although the Captain loses no opportunity of lauding Great Britain. We will admit another thing, not as being in our judgment true, but for the sake of argument and because it seemed true to Captain Hall, namely, that the Americans, more than any other people, praise themselves. What good account can be given of this proneness of the Americans to praise themselves? We suppose that effects require causes in America as elsewhere. If Captain Hall attributes this aptitude to praise our country and its institutions to a warmer patriotism, than is felt by Englishmen, we ought to thank him for the compliment. Such, however, of course was not his purpose; such we do not pretend to be the fact. But if Captain Hall will read over,—what he tells us he has never done,—the pages of the travellers in America; and if he will revise his recollection of the language held, almost without exception, on the subject of America, by the periodical press of Great Britain, he will see a sufficient cause, why the Americans should feel themselves constantly on the defensive. *They are constantly attacked.* In many cases, however, the traveller (and this has often happened to Captain Hall) gratuitously ascribes to the American a feeling, corresponding to one which actuates his own mind. We need go no farther for an example than the paragraph next to that, last quoted.

'It was curious to see, with what vigilant adroitness, the Americans availed themselves of every little circumstance, to give effect to this self-laudatory practice. I happened one day to mention to a lady, that I had been amused by observing, how much more the drivers of the stages managed their horses by word of mouth, than by touch of the whip. Upon which she replied, "Oh yes, sir, the circumstance you relate is very interesting; as it shows both

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intelligence in the men and sagacity in the animals." This was pretty well; but I merely smiled and said nothing; being somewhat tickled by this amiable interchange of human wisdom and brute sagacity. The lady's suspicions, however, instantly took fire on seeing the expression of my countenance, and she answered my smile, by saying, "Nay, sir, do you not think the people in America, upon the whole, particularly intelligent?"' Vol. i. p. 61.

Now, since Captain Hall will have it, that our medium of communication is less intelligible than that, which exists between any two nations on earth, he must allow us occasionally the benefit of such a state of things, although we do not find that he ever does so. It is his standing complaint, that he could not make himself understood; but it does not appear to have occurred to him, that he might misunderstand the Americans, and that all this importunity, throat-cramming, and self-landing might really be some different and better thing, than it seemed to him. We are sure, at all events, that he wholly mistook the lady. Without knowing in the least who she was, we can easily picture to ourselves her situation. A traveller like Captain Hall, cannot move *incog.*, in any country. The trumpet must of necessity go before him. The Americans have been taught by experience, what is implied in the visit of a traveller;

'A chiel 's amang you taking notes,
And faith he 'll prent it.'

They have been taught by an experience, which Captain Hall, to his honor, has been the first to break in upon, that they cannot ask a traveller to dinner nor enter into conversation with him, but their dinner and their conversation must be served up to them cold, a few months after, in Mr Traveller's book. The poor lady, whom Captain Hall, forgetting his usual delicacy, has so agreeably reminded of his visit, was no doubt under the common feeling which a traveller's advent produces, for the reasons stated, on the American's mind; and this feeling may be supposed, in the case of a lady, to be productive of a little trepidation at the thought, that whatever she said would be

'Set in a note-book, learned, and conned by rote,
To cast into her teeth.'

In this frame of mind, she would naturally try to say something a little sententious; as the most unaffected people, under the

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like circumstances, will do. The Captain remarked to her, that 'he had been amused by observing, how much more the drivers of the stages managed their horses by word of mouth, than by whip.' What shall the lady do? Keep silence? That would be rude, and would lead the traveller to remark, that the American ladies sit mute when spoken to. Taking the Captain at his word, that he,—a philosophical traveller, a Post-Captain in the British Navy, an observer of men and things all over the world,—really saw something worthy of being noted, remembered, and spoken of, in the degree to which the drivers made their horses understand them, by word of mouth, without the whip, she ventures to agree with him, that it was interesting, and was alike creditable to man and beast. Here the thing ought for ever to have dropped; but not so thought the Captain. This is no joke. The lady has, with 'vigilant adroitness,' lain in wait for this chance to praise, not merely the men, but the very horses of the country; and Captain Hall sagaciously smiled, though he said nothing, 'being somewhat tickled by this amiable interchange of human wisdom and brute sagacity.' Now the smile, which is apt to show itself on the countenance of a person, who makes a discovery such as Captain Hall fancied he made here, is not, we suppose, of the most winning kind.

'O what a deal of scorn looks beautiful
In the contempt and anger of his lip;'

but that was not the lip of the traveller, who has been 'teased' by 'the tormentings' of self-praise. The Captain's smile, on the present occasion, if his own notice of its effect was just, was not of a very fascinating character. It set the good lady's suspicions on fire. She interpreted his smile (and, from his own showing, not unjustly) into one of ridicule and contempt, and then put the question, 'whether he did not think the American drivers were, upon the whole, a shrewd set of fellows;' for this (the Captain will thank us for translating her American into English) was all she meant. This question we admit to have been in bad taste; very bad; but one thing we think in rather worse taste, which was, to go and enter all this into the note-book of a journey, undertaken to promote kind feelings between the two countries,—publish it to the world, and draw inferences from it, as regards the characteristics of the American people.

This is an error, of which no experience of its injustice will

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cure travellers among us; although, unjust as it is in all countries, there is none, in which it is so unjust, as in America, to generalize single facts. Let us show how this would operate, in reference to the far more homogeneous population of England. It seems that at Walthamstow in England, it is the custom of the inhabitants, in beating the bounds, on Holy Thursday, to *bump* every *gentleman* they meet. We have before us the report of an action, brought on the first day of June, by Mr James Woolley and Mr James Teale, two very respectable gentlemen, against sundry citizens of the said Walthamstow, for bumping the said gentlemen. Mr Woolley was quietly fishing in the river Lea, at twelve o'clock, when he was approached by a mob of two hundred men, seized by the collar, threatened with blows if he resisted, and being held by his arms and legs, violently swung and *bumped* against a tree. Mr Teale defended himself with a clasp knife, but the mob attempted to push him into the river, and broke his hat with a stick. The prisoner, when called on for a defence, stated, that he went up to the gentleman and said,

'"I beg your pardon, sir, but it is a customary thing to bump gentlemen, wherever we meet them, when we are beating the bounds." The gentleman was then bumped, but I did not bump him, although I have bumped many gentlemen before, without grumbling.

'*The Magistrate.* Upon my word, then, I suppose you think your politeness in begging a gentleman's pardon is a sufficient excuse for your bumping him. You first beg his pardon and then say, "we are going to bump you."

'*Prisoner.* No, sir, I asked the gentleman, if he would give us leave to bump him?

'*Magistrate.* A very likely tale. Did you suppose the gentleman would say, Yes?

'*Prisoner.* Most people do, sir, because they know it is a custom.'

One of these bumping gentlemen was a parish officer of Walthamstow, one of that 'unpaid magistracy,' which Captain Hall commends so much, to the disparagement of our unqualified, ignorant, democratic judges. Now, if an American traveller, in England, had witnessed this scene, or been present at this trial, and gone to his lodgings, and entered in his notebook, that it is the custom for the British yeomanry, on Holy Thursday, to beat the bounds of their parishes, with their officers at their head, and to 'lie in wait, with vigilant adroitness,'

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to bump any gentleman against a tree, with whom they may fall in,—such American traveller would argue as most travellers in America, Captain Hall among the rest, habitually argue, of things in this country. And, by the way, in what part of all America, which Captain Hall tells us he travelled from end to end, did he see anything so characteristic 'of the blighting tempest of democracy,' as this *custom* of Walthamstow?

At Troy, Captain Hall visited the school so liberally and wisely endowed by a liberal and distinguished citizen of that neighborhood.

'We found a school, recently established by one of the wealthiest and most public-spirited men in the country, the principle of which differs from that of all others, with which I am acquainted. The object is to instruct young men as schoolmasters, or rather as teachers of different mechanical arts and sciences. The munificent patron of this institution, after having thus assisted the scholars, supplies them, when duly qualified, with money and with proper recommendations, and sends them over the country to get employment.' Vol. i. p. 64.

But nothing is quite right with the Captain in America. It is not enough, that a gentleman in this country, properly characterized as among our wealthiest citizens, but yet whose entire fortune does not equal the Duke of Devonshire's annual income, has founded and established, at his own expense, a school different in principle from any, with which Captain Hall is acquainted, in any country, 'and of which the arrangements were admirable;'—the Captain regretted to learn, that this example had not been followed by any one else! We have been told the Chinese like everything in pairs; and when you present a mandarin with a gold watch, he asks you for *the other*. We really think one institution for public instruction, of a peculiar kind, which had not yet been devised by the liberality, public spirit, and munificence of all Europe, is quite as much as can be fairly asked of America.

The Captain complains, and with justice, of the annoyance to travellers on the Erie canal, occasioned by the multitude of bridges. This evil has been remedied on the Miami canal, in the state of Ohio,—a canal not opened when Captain Hall was at Cincinnati, but now penetrating the fertile interior of that state. The remedy consists in a most ingenious device of a top to the canal-boats, capable of being depressed and

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elevated, by which the whole annoyance experienced on the New York canal is removed. This movable top is open on the sides, forming a canopy over half the boat; and affording the passengers full enjoyment of the prospect of the neighboring country, and free circulation of air. While passing under bridges, the top is depressed by a simple contrivance, and is immediately raised up, by weights passing though pullies, attached to the stanchions which support the roof.

Captain Hall says a good deal about the names of the newly settled townships in New York, and other parts of America. Troy, Ithaca, Rome, Cicero, Homer, and Manlius seemed to him at first highly ridiculous. The Captain was afterwards reconciled to them, by fancying they might be the means of suggesting or keeping up some associations with classical antiquity. This, however, he found not to be the case, and was provoked at the discovery; and still more by finding that,

'Whenever I meet with the name of a Roman city, or an author, or a general, instead of having my thoughts carried back as heretofore to the regions of antiquity, I am transported forthwith in imagination to the post-road, on my way to Lake Erie, and my joints and bones turn sore at the bare recollection of joltings and other nameless annoyances, by day and by night, which I much fear will outlive all the little classical knowledge of my juvenile days.' Vol. I. pp. 73, 74.

The Captain makes too much of this both ways. There is, unquestionably, on first hearing, something ridiculous, in these singularly grouped names of antiquity. It will be recollected, however, that the hardest thing in the world,—the world's master pronounced it impossible,—is to make a new word. In America, names were to be found for many thousands of states, counties, towns, villages, rivers, and lakes. Every principle of selection has been pursued, and each has its advantages and its defects. Our pilgrim fathers sometimes adopted Scripture names, and gave us *Salem* and *Rehoboth*; or pious appellations, like *Providence*. They retained some of the Indian names, not always to the convenience of the poet. In the great majority of cases, they transplanted the names of their native places in England. There is some disadvantage in this, in the case of maritime towns; and it is a resource pretty soon exhausted. Many places were named, from time to time, for the prominent statesmen of the period when they were settled, both in the colonial and metropolitan govern-

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ments. Thus, we have *Chatham*, *Hillsborough*, *Wilkesbarre*, *Pownalborough*, *Belchertown*. Since the Revolution, the multiplication of places to be named, has gone on much more rapidly than ever before; and invention has been proportionately tasked to find names. The Classical Dictionary has, in this emergency, been pretty freely resorted to; with an immediate effect at first somewhat ridiculous, but which wholly wears off in a short time. The citizen of Utica thinks no more of Cato and 'his little senate,' than the student of Oxford does of the passing droves of black cattle, which originally gave its name to Oxenford.

Captain Hall, in some part of his book, complains of the Americans, for not having sympathized and coöperated with England, in her struggles during the French revolution. The complaint is, upon the whole, unfounded, and argues a want of acquaintance with the history of our politics. Our political parties turned, for twenty years and more, on this very point; and one of the two great political parties of the country did feel the sentiment, for the want of which Captain Hall censures us. In free countries, Captain Hall knows, that what one party likes the other dislikes. If one of our parties sympathized with England, in her struggle, it was as much as could be said of England herself, where one great party threw all its force against the government. But we have now alluded to this topic of complaint against America, to say, that it is the great fault of Captain Hall's book, that he does not sympathize with the state of things in America. He sees nothing cheerful, nothing auspicious. Our system of equality is a blighting democracy, though he does not tell us what it has blighted. He is worried with little matters, and insensible to great blessings. He is shocked at the 'tall burnt stumps of trees standing amidst the growing corn;' but yet the forest must be cleared away; and there is no agent but fire, which is cheap and expeditious enough. The stumps will all be gone in thirty years. Girdling the trees is a 'barbarous operation.' The field filled with stumps looks 'desolate,' 'deplorable.' A foreigner looks with horror at 'these Banquos of the murdered forest.' 'The wretched trunks of these girdled trees, in a year, present the most miserable objects of decrepitude that can be conceived. The purpose, however, of the farmer is gained, and that is all he can be expected to look to. His corn-crop is no longer overshadowed by the leaves of these

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unhappy trees, which in process of time, are cut down and split into railings or sawed into billets of firewood, and their misery is at an end.' We do not recollect any of this sentiment, in reference to those parts of Upper Canada, where the same process is going on; but in the United States nothing is promising. Captain Hall protests against what he calls the American sense of *improvement*, which he says imports 'an augmentation of houses and people, and above all, in the amount of the acres of cleared land;' whereas 'in England it means making things better.' So it does in America; and a tract of land is thought to be made better, by being reclaimed from an unproductive state, and made fit to produce food for man. We believe, also, it is strictly an English expression, to speak of a highly improved country; meaning a well cultivated and thickly peopled one. The Captain, following up this criticism, adds, 'It is laid down by the Americans, as an admitted maxim, to doubt the solidity of which never enters any man's head for an instant, that a rapid increase of population is, to all intents and purposes, tantamount to an increase of national greatness and power, as well as an increase of individual happiness and prosperity.' No American that we ever heard of has maintained this principle; and in order to controvert it, Captain Hall gives it a latitude, which in this country, no man thinks of giving it. We hold that for us,—for America, where land is abundant and labor scarce, an increase of population promotes national and individual prosperity. The Captain does not deny this. He admits 'we are not entirely wrong;' 'increase of population may or may not prove a symptom of prosperity, according to circumstances.' But are not those circumstances, in which this increase is a public benefit, precisely such as exist in America? Captain Hall will not deny it. 'It is interesting,' says he, 'to behold millions of human beings starting into life in the wilderness.' But his book shows none of this interest. We do not recollect a burst of feeling, at the astonishing spectacle. One or two establishments are decidedly commended; a few more 'damned with faint praise'; but the general system of things, which, in a space of time so very short, has brought so vast a region into the domain of civilization, is radically condemned by him. Instead of seeking features of resemblance between his own country and this healthful offspring, he hideously exaggerates the dissimilarity, to the length of declaring, that our language,

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which we proudly boast of as the mother tongue of Chatham, is harder to be understood by an Englishman than that of Japan and Cochin China.

But we must pass from this topic, and hasten with our traveller into Canada; and here we cannot but contrast the encouraging tone in which everything is spoken of, with the universal disparagement of the United States. There are some things, even in the way of omission, which we cannot account for. In describing the colonists established in Canada by the British government, at great expense, Captain Hall represents the experiment as having *proved eminently successful, in all its parts.* Captain Hall particularly found the emigrants to be exceedingly loyal and grateful to the government for its aid. Mr Southey, no prejudiced witness on this subject, and writing with the First Report on Emigration before him, says, 'So it is not strange, that an experiment, the plan whereof was so much better in its design than in its details, *should have failed as to its primary purpose.* A great many of the colonists forsook their allotments, and went to seek their fortune in the United States.' * The same author presently adds, that the inducement whereby settlers were drawn into the United States, was 'the persuasion, that the means of subsistence are more surely and easily to be obtained there; and this persuasion operates extensively. The casual emigrants, who find their way from these islands to Canada, are estimated at about ten thousand, and of these it has been said [First Report on Emigration, p. 48], that about four fifths pass into the American states.' 'When assistance for removing to Canada has been afforded to poor families, either by their parishes or the state, a great many have availed themselves of it, only for the sake of a passage, at the public expense, to this promised land.' † So much for the entire success of the projects for colonizing Canada; so much for the loyalty, gratitude, and prosperity of the emigrants. Captain Hall makes no allusion to this state of things, unless to observe, on finding on board the steam-boat on Lake Champlain, a party of Irish emigrants, flying from Canada to the United States, that they did it 'for reasons best known to themselves.' We should think, that after

* Southey's Colloquies, Vol. II. p. 278. The evidence on this point, in the Report of the Emigration Committee, is contradictory, some witnesses affirming, and some denying the fact.

† The same volume, p. 279 and 281.

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the matter had been for years before the British parliament, and been made the subject of so many elaborate reports, these reasons were pretty well known to others.

So resolute is Captain Hall to see everything in a favorable light in the British provinces, that he is there indifferent to the very things, to which in the United States he assigns a most sinister prominence. And what a singular reason does he give for this indifference! Canada, when Captain Hall visited it, was in a state of great discontent. The most violent proceedings took place in their legislature; proceedings strikingly like those, which took place in the United States before the Revolution. The governor and the majority of the council were excessively odious, and in a state of most violent resistance to the assembly and mass of the people. But Captain Hall's 'recent intercourse with Niagara [!] and the many wild and curious scenes in Upper Canada, together with his descent of the Rapids,' are assigned as the cause of 'the indifference, which he struggled in vain to throw off, as to the politics of Lower Canada, although the topic was then swallowing up every other consideration.' This effect of his intercourse with Niagara lasted just so long as he stayed in Canada, and no longer. As soon as he passes again into the United States, his active powers of observation revive. Considering the fact, which Captain Hall states, that the political contests of the day were the all-absorbing topics during his visit to Lower Canada, this indifference, in a professed traveller, is calculated to excite some surprise. But did it rest here, there would be nothing more to be said about it. Captain Hall, however, undertakes to answer for the loyalty of the Canadians. 'Every body was perfectly contented.' 'The colonists, in general, are not so much children, but true and loyal consorts of the country in whose sunshine they flourish.' Now, as Captain Hall had his imagination so much occupied and fascinated with the wild scenery of Upper Canada, that he could not and did not investigate the local politics of the provinces, we do not know how he can answer for them, that they are contented and loyal. These provinces were then, and are now, violently agitated by two parties, that of the government and that of the people. The latter party may be weak and contemptible (it certainly is not so in numbers), and not to be taken into the account, in stating the temper of the population. But Captain Hall could not know it to be so; for he tells us he could not and did

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not inquire into the matter. And yet he assures us the Canadians are all loyal and all contented. There is indeed some misgiving, apparently, in his mind, that his readers will not be satisfied with this omission, particularly on the score of fairness to the United States, and he makes several apologies for it. The effect of the wild scenery of Upper Canada is one, which we have already cited. Another, which is glanced at by Captain Hall, gives us a glimpse at a state of things in Canada, which ought, we think, to have been candidly investigated by him.

'Nevertheless, even although I had access to the best informed company on both sides, and had the farther [?] advantage of forming an acquaintance with some of the most zealous of the opposition party, I could never bring myself to take any very sincere interest in these local questions. Every body, indeed, seemed so perfectly contented, and all that I could see, hear, or read about the province, showed the inhabitants to be in the enjoyment, practically speaking, of such numerous and substantial blessings, political and domestic, that I found it impossible to sympathize deeply in their speculative misery, when, in point of fact, they possessed, as it appeared to me, everything that rational men could desire, and more, perhaps, than any other country in the world.

'Possibly, had I studied the subject more attentively, I might have found my ideas changed [but how so, being formed 'from all he could see, hear, or read'?]; and, although I am half ashamed of not having done so, I regret it the less, from observing that the subject has lately been taken up by the House of Commons, and has been investigated with a minuteness which it was utterly impossible I could have found time for, and under circumstances much more advantageous than any within my reach, even when on the spot. [It is to us inconceivable, that a committee of the House of Commons in London, should be under more favorable circumstances, to inquire into the state of politics in Upper and Lower Canada, than an intelligent traveller on the spot, 'having access to the best informed company on both sides.' Captain Hall repels more than once, and with no little tartness, the suggestion, that his flying visit through the United States, on which he moved at the rate of twenty-one miles a day, for every day he was in the country, did not enable him to pronounce on every question touching every part of the country.] So that a reference to the Parliamentary Report, and to the Evidence before the committee of the House of Commons, ordered to be printed on the twenty-second of July, 1828, will afford, as far as I am able to judge, much fuller information than I could have brought away,

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had I been ever so industrious.' [But Captain Hall might have given us, in a couple of pages, the general bearings of the controversy, and the state of parties; and he evidently, at one time, thought he ought to do it, for he adds] 'It was my intention, however, notwithstanding this Report and Evidence, to have inserted at this place a sketch of the discussions alluded to; but I have thought it right to suppress it, in consequence of the recent changes in that quarter, and the disposition which really appears to exist, on both sides, to start afresh, to turn over a new leaf, and to join cordially in advancing the prosperity of a country so highly gifted by nature and by fortune.' Vol. i. pp. 201, 202.

In Captain Hall's resolute purpose to see everything in a favorable light in the Canadas, he has, in the close of the few paragraphs we have cited, seemingly forgotten the point at which he started. He could not, at the beginning of his remarks, take an interest in these local matters; the struggle which he witnessed in Montreal was an affair of the boys and mob, 'in the most approved style of party manners.' Every body appeared perfectly contented, and the whole province enjoying more substantial blessings, political and domestic, than any other country in the world. A few sentences on, we find, however, rather strangely, that the condition of this happy, contented people, has required the interposition of parliament; that changes have become necessary, and have been made; and that *now* (1829) the inhabitants are going to turn over a new leaf, and unite cordially with each other in promoting the public prosperity!

But though Captain Hall refers to the discussion in the House of Commons in 1828, *it is impossible* he could have read it. That indifference, which benumbed his faculties in Montreal, must still have weighed upon them in London. We give our reasons for this peremptory assertion. In that debate Mr Huskisson, *then the minister*, began by saying,

'The question which I wish, at this time, to induce the House to investigate is, whether those extensive, valuable, and fertile possessions of the crown, the Canadas, are, or are not, administered, under a system of civil government, adapted to the wants, the well-being, and the happiness of nearly a million of British subjects, and well calculated to maintain the allegiance of our settlements, and preserve unbroken the affection and good understanding, which should always subsist between colonies and the mother country. If, upon inquiry, it shall appear that the present system is not calculated to answer this purpose, and that the remedy

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for the evil cannot be applied without the authority of parliament, it will be for parliament to deal with the question, with a view to the introduction of such modifications, improvements, and alterations in the existing system, as may appear necessary.'

It is the drift of Mr Huskisson's speech to prove the negative of the questions announced; to prove that this people, whom Captain Hall found, in 1827, to be in the enjoyment of everything which rational men could desire, and more perhaps than any other country in the world, were, in 1828, 'under a system of civil government, *not* adapted to their wants, well-being, nor happiness, nor to maintain their allegiance, nor preserve their affection and good understanding with the mother country.'

Mr Huskisson proceeds to state, that the system of government existing in the Canadas, though the work of great statesmen, was produced at a time when little was known of the country, when its resources and interests were little understood, and is consequently '*extremely defective.*' In its details, there are many difficulties to be removed, many imperfections which require a remedy, many omissions which require to be supplied. Owing to the nature of the tenure, by which lands are held, Mr Huskisson says, 'there are fines,—annual duties on all alienations of property,—and various rights and duties of a most vexatious and harassing nature.' Captain Hall, in magnifying the felicity of the Canadians, says, 'When the British provinces are compared with the United States, it is by no means too much to say, that the laws, which, *in fact, are those of England*, are out of all sight [?] more steady; and, from that circumstance, besides many others, better *administered.*' Did Captain Hall know this? Did he inquire, and was this the result of his inquiry? Mr Huskisson came to a different conclusion. *He* says, 'With respect to civil rights, as I have already said, the French *law* and *administration* were established; but the English system of jurisprudence prevailed in criminal matters.' Nor is this all, and we do entertain a little hope of satisfying Captain Hall himself, that he has gone beyond the mark of loyalty in this matter; he has distanced the minister.

'In fact the inconvenience of the existing condition of Canada, cannot be well understood in this country. In this colony [Lower Canada] the law of mortgage is in its worst state. The registration of deeds is another point deserving of attention; and the

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laws and usages relating to the formation of roads are those of the old French feudal system.* The consequence has been that, in the last fifteen years, not one single road-bill has been passed by the legislative assembly of that province. Thus there is no opportunity afforded the English townships of communicating with the river St Lawrence, except by some of its tributary streams, on account of the interposition of the seignories between them and that river. In the same manner, [and to this passage we ask the special attention of our readers, who wish to see the length of delusion, to which a man so sensible as Captain Hall can be carried] another part of what I consider an important public duty in a legislative assembly was overlooked. *I mean the education of the children of the settlers.* This is a subject never thought of. In point of fact, the state of things is such, that *the settlers* feel *more disposed* to connect themselves with those districts, which border on the United States [meaning territories of the United States], where they can better have their wants of this description supplied, and *receive the benefits of the administration of justice, than to remain in the country to which they owe allegiance!*'

So much for the blessings of English laws and their administration. Captain Hall congratulates the provinces on their happy form of government, uniting an executive dependent on the crown, with the elective franchise very generally enjoyed by the bulk of the people. Of the first he speaks in the following smooth terms;

'The foundations of those powers, which preserve social order, are certainly more stable and better organized, than in the United States. Their rulers do not derive their authority from those, over whom their power is to be exercised; they look up and not down for approbation; and can therefore use that authority with more genuine independence. This doctrine, of course, is scouted in the

* In another part of this speech, Mr Huskisson says of these colonies, which Captain Hall pronounces to be under the English laws, and English administration of them, 'There is no possibility of suing or being sued, except in the French courts and according to the French form and practice; no mode of transacting commercial business, except under French customs now obsolete in France. In Lower Canada they go upon the law and system of feudal tenure, and the law is more incapable of ever being improved or modified, by the progress of information or knowledge, than if it still remained the system of France and the model of her dependencies. Here, in the midst of a wilderness, flourishes the French feudal system and the "custom of Paris" three centuries ago.' And yet Captain Hall says, 'the laws, *which in fact are those of England*, are out of all sight more steady, and *from that circumstance*, besides many others, better *administered*,' than in the United States!

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United States, as altogether heterodox;* but the colonies, when prompted to compare their condition with that of their neighbors, I am quite certain, will never find cause to regret the distinctions which arise from this source; *and that they feel this as they ought to do, I know by ample experience.*'

We are rather puzzled to reconcile this 'ample experience' of the Captain, with the indifference to the subject and his ignorance of it, which he makes known to us, as well as with Mr Huskisson's direct assertion of the contrary fact. But we pass this, to show what these rulers 'not deriving their authority from those they rule over' are, and the great cause the Canadians have to like them.

'This, sir,' says Mr Huskisson, 'is the state of the controversy between the executive and legislative body in Canada. The consequences of the agitation of such a controversy as this, *in which both parties have stood upon their extreme rights*, have been *most unfortunate!* One of the consequences has been the necessity, under which the representative of the king has found himself, of appropriating money for the necessary services of the colony, without the sanction of the colonial legislature. Such a thing as this, in a country with a legislative assembly, can only be justified by the absolute necessity of preventing general confusion and the subversion of the government. I do not stand here—(living as I do in a country, where the rights of the popular branch of the legislature, to control the expenditure of the money it raises, are so well known and universally acknowledged)—to defend the abstract propriety of a governor of a colony, appropriating the revenue, without the sanction of an act of the legislature, as required by law; but pressed by necessity, it ought not perhaps to be wondered at, however we may regret the necessity, that a governor should take all the means in his power, to maintain the tranquillity of the place committed to his charge.'

Thus we see the governor, contrary to law, thrusting his hand into the public treasury, and expending the contents without appropriation, and his conduct not justified by the minister, but palliated, on the ground that it was absolutely necessary to prevent a subversion of the government. But Captain Hall had 'ample experience,' that the colonies 'feel right' on the subject of their executive.

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* We supposed that the doctrine, that 'rulers do not derive their authority from those over whom their power is to be exercised,' had been scouted in England ever since 1688. From whom does the present ruling house in England derive its authority?

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That executive consists of a governor and council. We have seen how happily the office and powers of the governor are constituted; now let us look to the council. And here we shall use the words of Sir James Mackintosh, in the same debate, not a ministerial member, we are aware, but one whose statement of a fact Captain Hall will cheerfully admit. We may premise, that Sir James commenced his speech by saying, that he had 'presented a petition signed by eighty-seven thousand of the inhabitants of Canada, comprehending among its numbers nine-tenths of the heads of families in the province, and more than two-thirds of its landed proprietors,' and had shown that 'the petitioners had the gravest causes of complaint against the administration of the government of the colony.' A pretty curious petition this, to come from a people universally contented and loyal, and happy in the enjoyment of greater blessings, than any other people in the world! Now what says Sir James of the executive council, the other portion of the rulers, who, to the great advantage of the Canadians, do *not* 'derive their authority from those, over whom their power is to be exercised.' We beg all those, who may have been disposed to pin their judgment on Captain Hall's sleeve, as an impartial and accurate observer, to mark what follows;

'It is a fatal error in the rulers of a country to despise the people; its safety, honor, and strength are best preserved by consulting their wishes and feelings. The government of Quebec, despising these considerations, has been long engaged in a scuffle with the people, and has thought hard words and hard blows not inconsistent with its dignity. I observe, that twenty-one bills were passed by the lower house of assembly 1827—*most of them reformatory. Of those twenty-one bills, not one was approved of by the upper house.* Is the governor responsible for this? I answer, He is. The council is nothing better than the tool of the government. It is not a fair and constitutional check between the popular assembly and the governor; but it is the governor's council. The counsellors are all creatures of the governor; and they sit in council, not to examine the bills sent to them, but to concur in the acts of the governor. Of these counsellors, consisting of twenty-seven gentlemen, seventeen hold places under the government at pleasure. These seventeen divide amongst them fifteen thousand pounds of the public money, which is not a small sum in a country where one thousand pounds a year is a large income for a country gentleman. I omit the bishop, who is perhaps rather inclined to authority—but of a pacific character. The nine remaining counsellors were worn out by opposing the seventeen,

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and at present have withdrawn from attending its deliberations; and two of them, being the most respectable land-owners of the province, were among the subscribers to the petition. Under these circumstances, I appeal to the house if the Canadians are not justified in considering the very existence of this council, as a constitutional grievance?'

And it is this execrable executive government, held up, without a champion or an apologist, to the scorn of the British parliament, that Captain Hall not only pronounces to be excellent in itself; but to be so deemed, to his own knowledge, derived from ample experience, by the Canadians; and that at a moment, when nine-tenths of the heads of the families, and two-thirds of the land proprietors, were petitioning against the very existence of it, as a constitutional grievance!

We are nearly weary of this analysis; but we will glance at the popular branch of the Canadian government. In reference to that branch Captain Hall says;

'By means of the elective franchise, *which is very generally enjoyed*, the great bulk of the people retain in their own hands sufficient political influence, to make them feel quite free and truly independent, in the situation where nature has placed them. Happily, also, the exercise of their political rights does not interfere to any hurtful degree with their social duties, nor carry them at all out of their proper sphere of life.' Vol. i. p. 217.

Now were the exercise of the elective franchine ever so happily arranged, or ever so widely diffused, what would it avail, with a council composed of placemen and capable of negativing every bill passed by the representatives, and with a governor capable of expending the whole revenue of the state, one hundred and forty thousand pounds, without appropriation, and contrary to law? Can the right of voting in the election of such a body make a people, in Captain Hall's judgment, feel 'quite free and truly independent'? But what is the fact? The province of Lower Canada in 1792 was laid off into eighteen counties sending each two members, three counties sending one, two cities sending each four, one town sending two, and one sending one, making a total of fifty.

'What I complain of is,' says Mr Huskisson, 'that the representation is not equally distributed. It is a great error, to take the density of the population many years ago, and apply it as a permanent standard to the number of representatives, to be chosen for particular places and departments. The effect of this erroneous principle has necessarily been to throw the chief power of

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representation into the hands of the seignories. The same defect exists in Upper as in Lower Canada. The English settlers are excluded from a fair participation in what ought to be a popular representation, and the power of election is thrown into the hands of the descendants of the French. I state these complaints with more confidence, because, *in all parts of Canada,* it is agreed, *that the present system works so ill, as to stand in need of alteration.*' Vol. I. p. 217.

We will now give Captain Hall's summary, and then Mr Huskisson's.

'Thus the community at large,' says Captain Hall, 'possess fully as much if not more freedom, than their neighbors, while the best informed and ablest members of it have better and incomparably more permanent and definite stimulants to honest ambition, than the same class of men in the United States. *Neither is the peace of society disturbed by incessant contentions for temporary power,* and the inhabitants of the colonies are enabled to manage their internal affairs, upon more uniform principles, because they are confined to the hands of experienced and able men. All this is arranged in direct defiance and ridicule, I admit, of the doctrine of universal equality; but nevertheless in a manner strictly conformable to the decrees of Providence, as far as they are made known to us by the lights of experience and plain common sense.' Vol. I. p. 217.

It appears to us rash in Captain Hall, to assert that a state of facts, purely hypothetical, concerning which he admits he felt indifferent on the spot, and has not since inquired, is in conformity with the decrees of Providence. If Mr Huskisson speaks truth, and was well informed, Providence has had nothing to do with the government of Canada, but to make it a monument of long-suffering and forbearance.

'When principles,' says Mr Huskisson, 'are pressed to the extreme, a legislature may no doubt distress the executive government of a country, and so wear it out by continual opposition, as to have the point in dispute conceded. But what, in the mean time, are the unfortunate results to the people? What, in the midst of these conflicts, has been the result to the province of Canada? Nothing was expended of the money raised in this irregular manner, but what was absolutely necessary to carry on the government of the province. All improvement was at a stand; the roads were neglected; education was overlooked; the public buildings were suffered to fall to decay; and the country generally brought to such a state, *that there was not a Canadian whose interests did not suffer.*'

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These are not the representations of an American traveller; not the sinister statements of a member of the opposition in the House of Commons; but they are the arguments, by which the British minister calls on parliament to reform the constitution of the Canadas. All these evils were at their crisis when Captain Hall was in the country. He saw nothing, heard nothing, read nothing of it all!

Of the description which he gives of the country, so opposite to its real state, and of the contrast he adventures to the disadvantage of the United States, in points, where, as we have shown, the Canadas are, by all admission, deplorably deficient, we know not that any other account can be given, than that the Captain was led, by his resolute loyalty, to find everything as it ought to be in Canada, and as it ought not to be in the United States.

Thus, that some of the United States have revised their constitutions, in the course of forty or fifty years, and that an amendment has been made in the constitution of the United States, in the article relative to the election of the President, are matters, which give Captain Hall occasion to reflect on the uncertainty of the duration of our government. The fact, that the constitution was adopted in 1789, leads him to reduce the period, for which our institutions (many of which are coeval with the settlement of the country) have lasted, to forty years. The circumstance, that in 1804 it was provided that the President and Vice-President should be voted for in distinct ballots, and that in case no choice be made by the people, the House of Representatives should choose one of the three highest candidates, instead of the former mode of a ballot for two individuals, and an eventual choice by the House from the five highest, leads the Captain to reduce this period to twenty-four years. While in Canada, on the other hand, he cannot sufficiently admire the steadiness, permanence, and solidity of the constitution, its freedom from fluctuation, its security against violent change. How is the fact? Several of the United States are governed by constitutions, essentially the same as they were before the Revolution, *mutatis mutandis*, adopting only a substitute for the power of the crown. This is the case with Massachusetts. One state has no other constitution, than that of its ancient royal charter. Many of the states have revised their constitutions, since the first formation of them during the Revolution, but no principle affecting essentials has

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been, within our knowledge and recollection, changed in any of them. The first attempt at a federal government proved 'abortive,' if Captain Hall pleases; but in no other sense, than that, having been found inadequate, it was peaceably and without convulsion moulded into the present form, in which one modification, not insignificant certainly—but going to remedy an evil not likely to recur in centuries,—has been made; and this Captain Hall tells us is fluctuation. What then is the state of Canada? In 1763, the British found there the French law, and no constitution of civil government, other than the will of the crown. The king issued his proclamation, and invited his subjects to go and settle there, promising them the benefit and protection of British laws and courts of justice, and declaring the royal intention to establish a deliberative assembly. Thus, at one blow, the constitution, under which this colony had been settled, was changed. The promise of a legislative assembly, however, lay for thirty years a dead letter. In 1774, it appeared that the Canadians were greatly attached to their hereditary system of legislation, and afflicted with the blessing of British laws; and parliament revoked all the pledges of the proclamation of 1763, and reëstablished the French jurisprudence and administration in civil matters, retaining only the English criminal law. Thus was another constitution given to the Canadas, by the very permanent and steady councils of the mother country, within nine years. But as variety is pleasing, all lands granted between 1763 and 1774 were to be held in free and common soccage, while to all estates granted before 1763 the custom of Paris applied; so that the greatest confusion arose. In 1778, the steady councils of the mother country and the permanent institutions of Canada underwent another change, by the declaratory act, which renounced, on the part of the mother country, the right of taxing the colonies. We believe it is the interpretation which the Assembly puts on this act, which lies at the root of many of the present discontents. Shocking as it must be to Captain Hall, who has much to say of the contested interpretations of parts of our constitution, it is not certain whether the Canadas were meant to be included in this act. Under this constitution, Canada continued thirteen long years, till in 1791, Mr Pitt pulled all up, and laid all down anew, and divided the provinces into two governments, each with a separate legislature,—organized, says Mr Huskisson, on an unequal and defective plan. We believe this con-

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stitution continued till the last year, with the exception that the governor, whenever it was necessary (he being judge), took the powers of the legislature into his own hand. An abortive attempt was made to change it in 1822. In that year, Mr Wilmot Horton, a great favorite with Captain Hall, brought into parliament, in the month of June, when sixty members only were in attendance,

'A bill calculated to do no less [we use the words of Mr Labouchere, an intelligent young member of parliament advantageously known to many of our readers, who *was not* indifferent to the local politics of that country, while travelling in it,] than to destroy the constitution, which Mr Pitt and the parliament had solemnly bestowed on the colonies. Some time after this had happened, it had been his [Mr Labouchere's] fortune to visit Canada, and he could aver that the feeling of indignation and suspicion, produced towards this government, by the bill of 1822, was greater than those could well imagine, who had not been witnesses to it.'

So monstrous, however, had the evils become, under which this contented, loyal, prosperous people live, that in 1828 nine tenths of them assail parliament for a new constitution; and Captain Hall tells us they have got it, and are delighted with it. It may be so, but the Canadian press holds a different language. The Quebec papers say, Upper Canada is in a state of revolution; and the Upper Canada papers speak for themselves as follows;

From the York U. C. Freeman.

'We say without appeal, because we view an appeal to Sir John Colborne, at present, against any of the *reigning faction*, or even to the home government, as no appeal at all. Judge Willis appealed against their injustice—what did he meet? Expense, degradation, and disappointment. We appealed to Sir John Colborne, against their cruelty and oppression—what did we get? An evasive and tantalizing refusal. The Grand Inquest of Upper Canada appealed to him on our behalf—what did they meet? Open insult. The editor of the Observer is going to appeal against their foul conspiracy to crush him, and what will he meet? Disappointment. Another man in this town is about to appeal against two magistrates, who denied him his lawful wages, to oblige a brother *justice*,—what will he gain by this? Nothing at all. It is all in vain to think of appealing to Sir John,—the faction have got the whole administration of justice in their hands,—the fountains of justice have long been corrupt, and his excellency can do nothing with them;—nothing but a general purification will do,

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and that is what Sir John Colborne has not the slightest idea of attempting,—he would shudder at the thought. When Sir John, through fear of the faction, insulted the representatives of the people, and refused, by a merciful exercise of the royal prerogative, on the first appeal after his arrival here, to *conciliate the people*,—and that too in a case of trifling misdemeanor, with a precedent before his eyes by the preceding governor, it is really astonishing that any man would be so silly as to expect that he will relieve the province *from the grasp of its oppressors*. No, the press will be persecuted,—the country will be oppressed; injustice, corruption, and misrule will wax strong and increase,—the Governor will quietly enjoy his salary, and the faction will ride triumphantly in their impious career, until the people and their representatives take a bold and manly stand for their rights, and overthrow them.'

Such is Captain Hall's *beau idéal* of permanent government. But why do we allow ourselves to be put off with a comparison with Canada? The United States, for the first time in the world, have introduced something like a permanent principle into constitutional governments. Commencing with the immortal ordinance of 1787, the fundamental constitution of the Northwestern States (whose happy author still lives), this country first set the example of constitutional provisions of civil government, engrafted, in the form of compact, upon the very soil itself, as the previous condition of settlement, and unchangeable by any process recognised by the constitution.* Following after a short interval of time, the constitution of the United States was adopted, embracing an appointed mode of making changes in its provisions, to be made, however, by a process so complicated, that it can scarce ever take effect, and with reservations of certain principles utterly unchangeable. And does Captain Hall talk of the fickleness of our institutions, and their proneness to change, and the recency of their date? What is there in the English constitution, worth having, older than 1688? What is there, that cannot, any day, be changed in the ordinary process of legislation? A modification of the mode of choosing the President gives Captain Hall ground for bringing down the date of our constitution to 1804. That change is absolutely nothing, compared with the change made this very year, in the British constitution, by admitting Catholic peers to the House of Lords, and making

*This topic was admirably illustrated by Mr Webster, in his speech at the inauguration of Judge Story.

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Catholics eligible to the House of Commons.* Nay, the disfranchisement of Grampound, Shoreham, Cricklade, Aylesbury, and East Retford, cuts deeper a thousand times into the British constitution, than the adoption of every amendment ever proposed would do, in the case of ours. For the principle of the British constitution is that of prescription and long use. Grampound and East Retford were disfranchised for bribery; but if abuse is to countervail prescription, what is to become of all the rotten boroughs, the close boroughs, and the great unrepresented mass of the population? Prescriptive usage cannot save them, because it is an enormous abuse of that prescription, that the *site* of a borough should continue to send two members, after every dwelling-house has for ages vanished, and the once populous city has become a wheat-field. This abuse is as great as bribery,

* In calling the admission of Catholics into parliament a great change in the British constitution, we are sustained by the authority of Mr Peel, who, in the debate on the Catholic claims, in May, 1828, used this language; 'He considered it an important question, in point of policy (dismissing the questions of justice and good faith), as it affected the general constitution of the country, and with reference to its bearing on the prosperity of the empire. With respect to the first, he must say, that the removal of all civil disabilities, and the laying down of this principle, that there should be no distinction in respect to religious opinions, and no barrier between a professor of the Roman Catholic faith, and that of the Protestant established church, *was a material change in the constitution of the country.* There were limitations, it was true, in this as in every other proposition, as to the degree of change. If the constitution was considered to be the king, lords, and commons, it would be *subverting that constitution* to admit Roman Catholics to the privileges they sought; it would be an important change in the state of the constitution as established at *the Revolution!*' In less than one year, this *subversion* of the British constitution (itself dating, according to Mr Peel, from the *Revolution!*) took place; and, what is more, was carried through the forms of legislation in the House of Commons, by Mr Peel himself,—a pleasing illustration of the justice of Captain Hall's eulogium of the comparative steadiness of the British councils. The following are Mr Southey's words, alluded to in the text, 'More direct injury has been done to the House of Commons. When Mr Pitt removed from thence so many of the great landholders into the House of Lords, their place in the Commons was to be supplied, at best, with men who had less of that influence which properly belongs to property, in a commonwealth constituted like ours; and room was made for men of a lower class and of a dangerous description, who, before the structure of parliament was thus—almost it may be said—*revolutionized*, would never, in the march of ambition, have approached its doors.' *Colloquies*, Vol. ii. p. 231.

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though of a different nature. We say then, that the commencement, which has been made, of disfranchising close boroughs for bribery, is a radical change of the British constitution. The suppression of the Irish parliament and the union were very serious changes in the British constitution. The free publication of the debates, instead of the paltry artifice by which the law, making it a breach of privilege, was evaded, was a very important change in the British constitution. Mr Southey says, the creation of numerous peers has effected a *revolution* in parliament. The act of settlement was a very delicate change in the British constitution; and in 1688 it underwent modifications, vastly greater than the American constitutions ever experienced. Instead of taunting us with the tendency to change, it is a political phenomenon most rare and curious, that twenty-four states and a population of twelve millions can be so conveniently served, in all the great objects of government, by a constitution made for thirteen states and four millions of inhabitants. Instead of reproaching us with greater proneness to change, the discriminating observer will admit, that there is not an equal period of English history, in which greater changes have not been made in very essential articles of their system, than in the same period in ours.

From Canada, Captain Hall passes into New York. Delighted with a governor, robbing the public chest (and pleading an otherwise unavoidable subversion of the government as an excuse), and with a council, composed of the 'governor's creatures,' negativing every bill from the other house, Captain Hall is of course disgusted with the legislature of New York, as composed of men, 'who had come to the legislature straight from the plough, from behind the counter, from chopping down trees, or from the bar,' wholly unacquainted with public business or the duty of the legislator. But we dislike this eternal drawing of inferences, instead of citing facts. We wish Captain Hall would point out the great practical evils perpetrated by this legislature, or that he would name a deliberative body in the world, that can show more work, better done, than may be shown by this very legislature of New York. Look at the institutions of that state; her various endowed charities; her penitentiaries, which our traveller describes with great, but not exaggerated praise; the rapid colonization of her own wide domain, with a population greater than that which parliament, at a profuse expense of public money, has been able to rear up

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in all the British North American dominions; her munificent endowment of her colleges; her princely school-fund; her more than imperial works of internal communication. These are the doings of Captain Hall's wood-choppers and plough-joggers, but not all of them. A thousand works of legislative wisdom, liberality, and enterprise, have flowed from the same source. The great developement of steam-navigation, the new foundation of modern civilization,—that too is among the achievements of the legislature of New York, as far as legislative action could apply to such a matter. Unsuccessful in England and unsuccessful in France, our immortal Fulton brought over his precious conception, and placed it under the protection of the legislature of his adopted state. We have no particular reason to eulogize the legislature of New York. The evils incident to popular government, as to all human things, have been, at times, as apparent in that body, as the enemies of such a government could wish. But if there be a government, popular or arbitrary, which, in nearly the same space of time, and with the same command of means, has done more for the advancement of civilization, the arts, and the public welfare and prosperity, we have yet to learn in what part of the world it is to be found.

And here our limits constrain us to hasten towards a close, treating Captain Hall's book much as he does the United States, despatching the latter half of it very summarily. Our notes made on the perusal of his volumes would enable us to continue our remarks though every chapter, but we forbear. We have no wish to swell the table of Captain Hall's *errata*, nor to cavil at constantly recurring minor inaccuracies. If we have succeeded in our attempt, we have shown that Captain Hall was under the influence of a feeling (we believe it is the 'loyalty' he speaks of) which utterly incapacitated him from seeing the country as it is. How exceedingly limited a knowledge he could carry away from a region which he had traversed, and in which he spent days and weeks, we have shown in the case of Canada, which he passionately commends in the very matters which parliament was reforming as intolerable. The case is just the converse in the United States. With a few insulated exceptions, nothing is well; the whole system and spirit are bad. Captain Hall seems to have had a misgiving, that the extent and accuracy of his observation would be questioned; and is constantly trying to be beforehand with his answer, by

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insinuating the unreasonableness of the Americans in exacting unqualified praise.

To show the strange inaccuracy of Captain Hall's observation, as well as his passion for generalizing from single facts, often ill understood, we will refer to his notes on the cattle-show at Brighton. It seems the Captain kept count of all the women whom he met that day, and there were but nine; and on going to a place where he heard a fiddle, he found four men dancing a reel! From this extensive induction, the Captain infers 'a most unwonted separation of the sexes'; and on demanding an explanation of it, he got 'little else than ridicule for his pains.' For want of an explanation from others, however, he prepares a theory of his own, which is, 'that the women do not enjoy that station in society, which has been allotted to them elsewhere; and consequently much of that important and habitual influence, which, from the peculiarity of their nature, they alone can exercise over society in more fortunately arranged communities, seems to be lost.'

Now we grant the Captain, that there is an important influence exercised by women, in what he calls more fortunately arranged communities, which is nearly, we hope wholly, unknown in this country. It was very obviously exercised in England, under Charles the Second; in France, under Louis the Fourteenth; and not unknown in Athens, in the age of Pericles and Aspasia. The only kind of female influence, which is not exercised in America as much as in Europe, is that kind to which we now allude, and which, though it does not imply want of virtue in each single case, belongs to a state of society, where delinquencies in that respect are common. All that influence, which can be exercised by virtuous and well-educated mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters, is nowhere so much exercised as in this country. The facts on which Captain Hall founds his theory are as ill understood and defective, as his theory itself is false. Nothing more characterizes this country, than the zeal of all classes of the female sex in attending public places. Captain Hall must have been strangely inattentive, not to have seen them composing a full moiety of the throng, at all our religious, patriotic, and literary festivals; at all public shows, military reviews, and races; in our deliberative bodies and courts of justice, when the least prospect of an interesting discussion exists. He tells us indeed, that he did see 'a considerable number at the oration in Stockbridge, but they were carefully placed on one side of

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the church, and during the whole day there was no more intercourse between them and the men, than if they had belonged to different races.' But the fact is (as Captain Hall would have found out, if, in spite of the ridicule be encountered, he had manfully sifted this matter to the bottom), the ladies are placed together, on these occasions, and to the exclusion of the men, in order to accommodate more of them. 'At this cattle-show at Brighton, however, the exclusion was still more complete, for not even one female entered the church, though an agricultural discourse was there delivered, which the most delicate-minded person on earth might have listened to with pleasure and advantage.' We wonder, in fact, that coming so near the solution of his mighty difficulty, the Captain did not hit upon it. The truth is, that the annual discourse at the cattle-show in Brighton used to be honored with a very full attendance of ladies; till one season, and perhaps the very one preceding Captain Hall's unlucky visit, the consideration of the speaker happened to turn on points of rural economy, exceedingly important in themselves, and apt to the occasion, but not usually dwelt upon in this country, probably not in England, before audiences composed of both sexes. Since that period, the company at the cattle-show has been confined almost exclusively to men. This is the plain matter of fact, out of which our traveller has spun such an ominous web of consequences.

We will not enter farther into this exposition, except to show still more compendiously, though not less conclusively, by a single statement of Captain Hall's, and to the satisfaction of every man who understands either our system or our history, that the Captain has no clear idea of either;

'It appears that Washington's successor, Mr John Adams, found it necessary to yield, on various occasions, some little points, as he thought them,—but which, in fact, were the feather end of the wedge, that was eventually to move the whole edifice, when driven home by the resistless momentum of the sovereign people. Mr Jefferson succeeded, and as he was himself devoted to the cause of democracy, it made great strides under the hearty encouragement of his eight years' administration. *The law of primogeniture was abolished*, and various other acts passed, all tending the same way.'! Vol. II. pp. 61, 62.

The severity, with which Captain Hall treats the democratical tendency of our institutions, is curiously contrasted with the strictures he passes on our national festivals. He ascribes it

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to a wish to keep up a hostile feeling toward England, that we celebrate the anniversaries of the great events of the revolutionary war, which England, he says, (in pursuance of her policy of forget and forgive) has long since ceased to remember. Now, individually, we hope the Americans are as little prone to bear ill will toward former national enemies, as their English brethren. Personally, Captain Hall assures us, he had nothing to complain of;—and an accomplished English gentleman, who visited us a few years ago, (Mr Stanley) found reasons for declaring, in the House of Commons, in the debate we have so often alluded to, that,

'When they looked to the United States, they must see that after all the quarrels they had had with that power,—after a bloody revolutionary war founded on principle, and therefore the more bitter in its character, which was justice on one side and oppression on the other, all unfriendly feelings had disappeared; and when they found, as he knew well by personal experience, that in America, so thoroughly convinced were the people of the benefits of a liberal policy, and so strong were the ties of a common origin, that an English gentleman travelling in that great republic, is sure to meet with the most hospitable reception. That great country was proud to acknowledge its relationship to England, and to recognise the love and attachment it yet felt to the mother country, and would feel for ages.'

This is the language not merely of the gentleman, but of the statesman. Mr Stanley saw and heard as much of our patriotic festivals, as Captain Hall did. He was here in 1825, when the expiration of a half century seemed to freshen up the ardent glow of the old revolutionary feeling. He did not quarrel with us for commemorating the great deeds and great men of that day. He knew it was not merely in human nature; but that to forbear it would be not only base and recreant, but inconsistent with the very feelings, on which the best part of the hereditary system of Europe has been founded. Of this system we have borrowed the patriotic, the public, the disinterested portion. The great men of the age of our settlement, colonization, and revolution are the ancestry of the country. For an Englishman to reproach us, that we commemorate their exploits, would be to tempt the walls of Blenheim to fall and crush him as he passed. On what earthly basis, but the principle of these celebrations, is to be founded that native attachment to the soil, as the home of great men, who have gone before us, and the theatre of their excellent deeds, which Captain Hall and men of his way of thinking consider the sole test of high national character,

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and the supposed want of which they object to us, as a great defect? *

We are aware, that we have passed over a great many things in Captain Hall's book, deserving of comment; but we have already exceeded our limits. We repeat, we have been actuated by no ill will toward the traveller; but we appeal to the impartial reader, that we have shown him to be in possession of prejudices, under which he could not, and to have committed errors which prove that he did not, see the country as it is. His work will do considerable mischief, not in America, but in England. It will furnish food to the appetite for detraction, which reigns there toward this country. It will put a word in the mouths of those, who vilify because they hate, and hate because they fear us. Captain Hall is too brave for fear, and too generous for hate; but he has undesignedly played into the hands of those who are neither. This matter deserves his consideration; and as he will probably revise his work for the correction of its numerous faults in a literary point of view, the consequence of the haste in which it was written, we must recommend to him, in the calmness of after-thought, to review his whole system of thought and feeling toward this country.

* We have just seen a work, published in all the splendor and beauty of the British press, commemorating the battle of *Agincourt*. Forget and forgive!

Note.—In the review of Irving's 'Life of Columbus,' contained in our number for last January, there is an insinuation that the eminent novelist, Charles Brockden Brown, towards the close of his life, became addicted to irregular and intemperate habits. We have since been convinced, that this was a mistake. A gentleman, who knew him well, writes to us as follows. 'Mr Brown was a man of very abstemious habits, and pure, amiable, and exemplary in his life and deportment. Indeed, I do not know a more faultless being. The gentleness and benevolence of his nature procured him many friends, and those, who knew him best, loved him most.' We are happy, not only to retract our error, but to have this opportunity of stating from high authority, such decided testimony in favor of the private virtues of a man, whose genius was an honor to his country, and whose works will ever hold a high rank in its literature.

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QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

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A Catalogue of the Plants growing without cultivation in the Vicinity of Amherst College. By Edward Hitchcock. Amherst. J. S. & C. Adams. 8vo. pp. 64.

Manual of Botany, for North America. By Professor Amos Eaton. Fifth Edition, revised, corrected, and much extended. Albany. Webster & Skinners. 12mo.

BIOGRAPHY.

Memoir of Edward Holyoke, M. D. LL. D. Boston. Perkins & Marvin. 8vo. pp. 80.

Memoirs of Simon Bolivar, President Liberator of the Republic of Colombia, and of his Principal Generals, with an Introduction. By General H. L. V. Ducoudray-Holstein. Boston. S. G. Goodrich & Co. 8vo. pp. 383.

The Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus. By Washington Irving. (Abridged by the Same.) New York. G. & C. & H. Carvill. 12mo. pp. 311.

The Life of Napoleon, with the History of France, from the Death of Louis XVI. to the Year 1821. By William Grimshaw. Philadelphia. Towar & Hogan. 12mo. pp. 285.

Lives of the Signers to the Declaration of Independence. By the Rev. Charles A. Goodrich. Hartford. 8vo. pp. 460.

The readers of our Journal will bear witness to the alacrity with which we welcome every new and praiseworthy publication tending to illustrate the early history of our country. The present generation will be severely and justly censured by posterity, if the records of the personal worth and public services of those who achieved our national emancipation are suffered to perish. The *names* of our Revolutionary patriots are in every one's mouth and familiar to our very school boys; yet we verily believe, that if those boys were questioned, they would evince a more intimate acquaintance with the biography of Augustus Cæsar or Cicero, than with that of George Washington or Fisher Ames.

There is a very great propriety in placing the biography of eminent men in

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the hands of youth, considering merely their own improvement. The life of Benjamin Franklin is not surpassed in interest by any production of the imagination. The influence of such an example on a youthful mind is beyond comparison more salutary and powerful, than any exhibition of fictitious character.

The French have done more in providing suitable biographical reading for their children than any other nation, and some of the best English books of that description have been translated from the French.

The author of the work whose name is at the head of this notice is favorably known to the public as the compiler of a History of the United States for the use of Schools, which has had a very extensive and useful circulation.

The present work is of a higher and more original character. It contains, as the title imports, an outline of the Lives of the Signers to the Declaration of Independence, comprised in a single volume of convenient size.

A very large proportion of the patriots who annexed their names to that responsible instrument were not destined to rely for a place in the memory of posterity on this single act, however noble it might be. The same intrepidity and genius which had raised them to be leaders of the nation at that crisis, carried them forward in the career of glory through a long period of public life. The subsequent difficulties of the times fully tried their preëminent abilities and evinced that they had not merely been raised by the effervescence of the revolution into a scum-like eminence.

The biographies contained in the volume before us are of various lengths and various degrees of minuteness and interest, according to the actual incidents in the lives of the individuals described.

The extent of the plan did not permit the introduction of vague remarks and contemporary history. It is seldom the fact, that the incidents in the life of one man are of sufficient variety and importance to be extended through a volume unless they are inseparably interwoven with the history of the times. Of this latter class are the lives of Napoleon and of Washington. But these illustrious men had many coadjutors, the record of whose actions will remain to posterity, though it would be highly injudicious to connect with that record the oft repeated annals of the times.

In this bustling age, minute, tedious, and philosophic biographies stand little chance of being read, especially by young people; indeed the most that any person will ordinarily wish to know of the public services and private habits of John Hancock and his illustrious fellow patriots may be found in this volume.

There is a passage in the Preface which struck us as containing a fact worth transferring to our pages in the author's own words, It is as follows; 'While writing the following biographical notices of the Signers to the Declaration, the author has been struck with their longevity as a body of men. They were fifty-six in number; and the average length of their lives was about sixty-five years. Four of the number attained to the age of ninety years and upwards; fourteen exceeded eighty years; and twenty-three, or one in two and a half, reached three score years and ten. The longevity of the New England Delegation was still more remarkable. Their number was fourteen, the average of whose lives was seventy-five years.' Pref. p. 4.

The sources from which the author has drawn his materials are enumerated in the preface. The work is written in a neat, correct, and plain style, and handsomely printed. A spirited engraving of Colonel Trumbull's Picture of the Signing the Declaration of Independence, together with several heads of distinguished individuals, embellish the volume.

Upon the whole we are convinced that these biographical sketches will be read with pleasure, find their way for purposes of instruction into the possession of the young, and have a place as a work of convenient reference in the libraries of the old.

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